Daily Report

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Pact Foreign Ministers Meet in Prague 17 Mar

LD1203123190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1129 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Prague (ADN-corr)—The meeting of Warsaw Pact states' foreign ministers announced for 17 March in Prague is of a nonroutine and consultative nature. This was confirmed today by a representative of the CSSR Foreign Ministry in response to an inquiry from ADN. Differing reports that the meeting would take place later were based on a misunderstanding and related to the routine foreign ministers meeting already agreed last year. This had orginally been convened for Bucharest but will now be held in the Hungarian capital. At the forthcoming discussions in Prague the German question and the inviolability of the borders in Europe are on the agenda.

Havel Receives Pact Ministers

LD1703114890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, met today with the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers, who had arrived in Prague to attend a consultative meeting.

In the presence of Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier he received Boiko Dimitrov from Bulgaria, Gyula Horn from Hungary, Oskar Fischer from the GDR, Krzysztof Skubiszewski from Poland, Sergiu Celac from Romania, and Eduard Shevardnadze from the Soviet Union.

President Vaclav Havel in his opening speech put forward proposals concerning, above all, a new arrangement of Europe and the position of the unified Germany in it as well as questions of the collective security of a unified Europe. These proposals were received with an extraordinary understanding by all those present and became a basis for the consultative meeting of the foreign ministers that followed.

Afternoon Session Canceled

LD1703115290 Hamburg DPA in German 1109 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] [no dateline as received] The afternoon session of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers has been canceled without any reason being given.

'Different Opinions' on Unifying Germany

LD1703164190 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 17 (CTK)—A consultative meeting of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers, attended by Bojko Dimitrov of Bulgaria, Gyula Horn of Hungary, Oskar Fischer of the GDR, Krysztof Skubiszewski of Poland, Sergiu Celac of Romania, Eduard Shevardnadze of the Soviet Union and Jiri Dienstbier of Czechoslovakia, took place here today.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky told journalists that all participants agreed that Germany should be unified on its own will which must be respected. The question of unification is an affair of the two countries' peoples. They also agreed that the unification of the German states and of Europe must be understood as a mutual and joint process. Some of the participants supported the Czechoslovak stand that the unification of Germany is the motive force for the European unification.

All ministers agreed that NATO and the Warsaw Treaty will be preserved for [a] certain time. In this connection they pointed out that it is necessary to transfer the efforts from the military to political sphere so that the two groupings become above all political organizations. They also pointed out the need for speeding up the Helsinki process which should gradually replace the function of the blocs in Europe.

Different opinions were voiced on ways of unifying Germany. On what security measures should be taken to prevent possible conflicts in Europe, agreement was not achieved on the question of variants of the future military and political structures in unified Germany. Some of the ministers consider membership of unified Germany of NATO inadmissible. Some think that it would be useful. Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier proposed the creation of a commission for security in Europe which will be an executive body of the all-European treaty on collective security concluded in the spirit of the U.N. Charter. The European security commission, which could be based in Prague, would work in parallel with the European Economic Commission. The second stage should be the creation of an organization of European states in harmony with general agreement of the countries involved. The third stage of this process would then be a united confederation of Europe of free and sovereign nations, Minister Dienstbier said.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was the only participant in the consultative meeting here today who spoke against membership of unified Germany in NATO. Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky said at a press conference after the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers here.

There were also opinions that this membership could be a useful and practical solution. Polish Foreign Minister Krysztof Skubiszewski said in this connection that he would prefer Germany's membership in various institutions. If Germany is neutral it would be isolated and after several years it would embark upon a road which would not be positive for Europe. If Germany becomes [a] NATO member it would be necessary to search for certain guarantees, even for the Soviet Union, the Polish foreign minister said.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said at the press conference that Germany's neutrality would be the worst variant. He described the issue of Germany's

membership in NATO as theoretical and pointed to the existence of certain structures.

Dealing with the issue of the army of unified Germany Minister Skubiszewski said that no specific questions were discussed during the meeting and pointed to the Polish standpoint in this respect which ensues from the fact that the armed forces of unified Germany should be cut radically in comparison with the overall state of the two German armies at present.

As regards the future of the Warsaw Treaty, Minister Dienstbier said that its member countries discuss the further significance and sense of this grouping at present. He stressed that the main and last task of the Warsaw Treaty should be a joint procedure at disarmament talks. The question now is how to use an institution as the Warsaw Treaty for transfer towards all-European security structures.

Superiority of the political aspect in the Warsaw Treaty activities was confirmed also by Minister Skubiszewski.

Both ministers commented also on the declaration on independence of Lithuania. Minister Dienstbier said that Czechoslovakia recognizes the right to self-determination both of Germany and Lithuania. Nevertheless the independence of Lithuania and Estonia is being discussed but nothing is definitive so far. "If the Lithuanian people choose independence, we shall support this attitude," Jiri Diensbier said, and stressed the necessity of a dialogue of all sides involved.

Hungarian, CSSR, Polish Views on Talks

LD1703164890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] In Prague, the meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers has ended. Evelin Forro reports:

[Begin Forro recording] We [the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers] have agreed that reunification is basically the right of the Germans. However, there were differences of opinion as to what sort of political and military status the new Germany should have. This is how Gyula Horn summed up the Prague consultation of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in his interview with Hungarian radio.

Regarding this latest question, the Hungarian, Polish, and Czechoslovak stance was that Germany's NATO membership would not be disadvantageous, but that, on the contrary, it would be particularly advantageous. It has transpired from the spokesman's briefing held in the interval of the foreign ministerial consultation that after German reunification, NATO and the Warsaw Pact will be maintained for awhile.

As spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky put it, the two alliance systems could also be an effective means of the disarmament processes. A few ministers supported the Czechoslovak proposal, which states that a European security committee should be founded.

An interesting point was made that nowadays it is not only Germany where a conflict situation could evolve. In 1990 not a single nation can be condemned because it participated in World War II in one way or another, added Dobrovsky.

The Polish foreign minister was virtually mobbed by journalists in the interval. His opinion regarding the borders was that a resolute confirmation is needed and that the appropriate form of this is an agreement. He considered it conceivable that an asymmetrical situation could evolve in which the role of the Warsaw Pact would be reduced, while that of NATO would remain the same. The leader of Polish diplomacy said that they [the Poles] will also initiate the withdrawal of Soviet troops, though this is quite a different situation from the one in Hungary or in Czechoslovakia, but, in any case, he received a positive reply from Shevardnadze. [end recording]

Foreign Ministers News Conference

LD1703190390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states took place today in Prague. Jindrich Malota now reports on the news conference that followed:

[Malota] The Warsaw Pact states' foreign ministers, who were received this morning before their talks by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, discussed matters associated with German unification and the future structures of European security.

The news conference, which took place at the Praha Hotel, was attended by Czechoslovak and Polish Foreign Ministers Jiri Dienstbier and Krzysztof Skubiszewski, respectively, and by Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky, who in his opening remarks stated that the talks were to the point, open, and constructive.

Agreement prevailed on, among other things, the point that the process of German unification must be tied into the process of European security and cooperation, safeguarding in this way the justified interests of the European states, especially those which are neighbors of the two German states.

There was complete agreement that the current borders cannot be changed.

Differences came to light on the problem of whether the whole of the future unified Germany should be a member of NATO. There were voices which rejected this option as a matter of principle, but also views that its NATO membership could lead to a certain degree of international control over Germany and could therefore be practical in its own way, on condition, of course, that the Warsaw Pact states are provided with certain guarantees for their security.

In this connection, Minister Skubiszewski pointed out the need to take into account the balance of forces between the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe as an important condition for stability.

Jiri Dienstbier, answering questions from journalists, said that there was, at the current time, justification for the existence of the NATO alliance and the Warsaw Pact as appropriate instruments for implementing the transition to all-European security structures. However, their political function must grow while their military role diminished, and this was fully borne out by developments. This trend ought to become apparent in the foreseeable future at the disarmament talks in Vienna.

PAP on Pact Meeting

LD1703214190 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague, March 17—The foreign affairs ministers of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty held a consultative meeting in Prague today, with the following attending: Eduard Shevardnadze of the USSR, Boyko Dimitrov of Bulgaria, Jiri Dienstbier of Czechoslovakia, Oskar Fischer of the GDR, Krzysztof Skubiszewski of Poland, Sergiu Celac of Romania and Gyula Horn of Hungary.

Spokesman of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Lubos Dobrovsky told newsmen that the participants in the conference reached agreement on all key issues. They agreed that the Germans have a right to unite which must be respected. Some of the participants supported Czechslovakia which held that the unification of Germany was a driving force of European unification.

According to Dobrovsky all the ministers thought that the existence of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO should be preserved for a certain period of time. Nonetheless, both military blocs should above all become political organizations.

The Czechoslovak spokesman announced that the participants in the conference differed in their views on ways of uniting Germany and future measures to prevent potential conflicts in Europe. Some ministers were against a united Germany joining NATO, others thought it advisable.

Fischer, Dienstbier Remark on Meeting

LD1703184290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1718 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Prague (ADN)—The foreign ministers of the seven Warsaw Pact states held a consultative meeting in Prague on Saturday [17 March], where they reaffirmed the right of the Germans to self-determination and noted that their wish for national unity must be respected. They also agreed on the need for a new overall European security system. [passage omitted]

CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said that his country sees the unification of Germany as the "motor" of an "overall European unification." Germany must abolish all weapons of mass destruction and acknowledge the permanence of its eastern frontier with Poland, he demanded. His government would take part in the "four-plus-two" conference only if CSSR interests were affected. However, Poland must take part, since its interests were directly affected. Minister Dienstbier suggested that a European Security commission be formed and offered Prague as its headquarters. It should be the executive organ of a pan-European agreement on collective security. The next steps could be the creation of an organization of European states and a unified confederation of states.

After the meeting, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer said in reply to journalists' questions that none of those taking part had applied the emergency brake on the train of German unification. On the other hand, serious concern had been expressed that this process could go ahead in an ill-considered way, and this pose dangers for the European peoples. The unification of Germany, it had been noted, must go hand in hand with overcoming the division of Europe. It is important to maintain the balance in what had been achieved in the field of security, Fischer said with regard to the future of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. NATO membership for a united Germany would mean one side expecting the other to make do with less security.

The foreign ministers were received in the morning in Prague Castle by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. He set out the CSSR's position among other things on the future European order and the position of a united Germany in it, as well as on issues relating to collective security in the region.

USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said the main result of the meeting had been that all the participants had come out in favor of the synchronization of the current most important processes—the development of a system of European security and the rapprochement of the two German states. On some issues there was full agreement, on others differing views. This was completely normal. This was the first time consultations had taken place since the well-known changes in East Europe. That there had been differing opinions was only natural. His optimism was based on the atmosphere of accord at the meeting. They had reached the consensus that the Warsaw Pact must be perfected and hoped that such processes would also take place in the West. In saying this, he, Shevardnadze, was thinking primarily of NATO.

The most important issue for a united Germany is the level of Armed Forces. There had been agreement that all states, as well as a united Germany, should be guided by the principles of defensive doctrine.

Fischer on NATO Membership Issue

LD1703202290 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1705 GMT 17 Mar 90

[News conference with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer by GDR and FRG reporters at the Prague Castle on 17 March—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Did any of the allies pull the emergency brake because of the pace of German unification? Why was the [word indistinct] ended prematurely?

[Fischer] Nobody pulled the emergency brake. None of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact disputed the right of the Germans to self-determination. Each one of them said that this was everyone's inalienable right and therefore was also the right of the German people. But again and again they also expressed serious concern that unification could proceed in an ill-advised way. Ill-advised also means in a certain sense dangerous for the neighbors above all, but not only for the neighbors but also for the European peoples as a whole. Germany's past certainly plays a role in this, and one must recognize this. In this connection, it was also said that unification must go hand in hand with overcoming the division of Europe. But this does not mean that unification must only come about after the division of Europe has been overcome; rather, the one must stimulate the other, and both must proceed in a balanced way, to the benefit of all the peoples. That is, in effect, the synthesis of the discussion that took place here among the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, were security problems also discussed at this meeting? I am asking just as briefly as my previous colleague: What will happen to the Warsaw Pact and what will happen to NATO if a new security system is created, which will certainly be necessary?

[Fischer] In this connection, there was reference to the need for overall European security, and in fact everyone raised the demand to create such an overall European security system. It is inconceivable, for my colleagues and myself, that one side should create disadvantages for the other. What has been achieved in the field of security has been well balanced up to now, and this balance must be retained. Accordingly, the idea was expressed here that perhaps a joint commission or commissions, first on political issues, but also on security policy issues, should be formed. Then there should be full discussion between the two alliances about how the security of each can be guaranteed.

Now security is directly linked to confidence. If one side expects the other to make do with less security, then confidence will suffer and the situation will not become more calm, more stable, but the opposite will happen, and no one on our side is interested in that.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, we have heard that some of the Warsaw Pact countries can imagine a united Germany being in NATO. Can you imagine this as well?

[Fischer] I have not heard that. I would have had to be absent but I was there the whole time. That was not said, and it would be such an unreasonable demand by one side of the other; and who would accept the states of the Warsaw Pact having less security than the NATO states would accept if the situation were reversed? That is why this must be very carefully negotiated and discussed.

Horn: Germany in NATO 'Advantageous'

LD1703185490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Warsaw Pact member states have held a one-day foreign ministers' meeting in Prague. The three main topics were: German unity, a new European security system, and the future of NATO as well as of the Warsaw Pact. Evelyn Forro asked Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn for a special interview:

[Forro] First, I asked the foreign minister what opinions the participants had on German reunification.

[Begin recording] [Horn] We agreed on some basic issues; for example, that German reunification cannot be held back. I myself as well as others emphasized that this, in the final analysis, is the Germans' business. They should be the ones who decide on this. In addition, German self-determination also involves their finding the methods to ensure that the entire process falls within the framework of the all-European process.

However, it still is a fact that considerable differences of view also emerged, first and foremost concerning what the political and military status of the future Germany should be. Several of us said that we would consider Germany's membership in NATO not to be disadvantageous, but, on the contrary, it would be advantageous from the viewpoint of European security, because in this way, a mechanism for harmony, coordination, and control would be asserted within the North Atlantic alliance, in connection with Germany's situation in the future, which could not be secured outside the organization—for example, in the case of neutrality.

[Forro] Apart from the Hungarians, who else took this stand?

[Horn] First and foremost, the Polish and Czechoslovak sides. [end recording]

Horn on Pact, Germany, Havel Meeting

LD1703203290 Budapest MTI in English 1838 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague-Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—After the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member states, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn had the following to say in summing up the Prague talks at a briefing of Hungarian journalists:

Mr. Horn has recently stirred great storm by a remark he made in an analysis at a political theoretical conference

saying that Hungary could, in the long run, become a member of NATO's political integration. Then, Mr. Horn based his statement on an analysis of the European processes and the convergence of the two military-political blocs.

At the opening session of the Prague meeting, an unexpected international confirmation came to the Hugarian foreign minister's theory. Summing up his views on the German question, Vaclav Havel, president of the Czechoslovak Republic, said the convergence of the two alliance systems seemed realistic in view of the processes in Europe.

Horn and Havel also touched upon the development of relations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The Hungarian foreign minister said he had received information on a Czechoslovak plan for considerably restricting passenger traffic with neighbouring states. Mr. Horn drew Mr. Havel's attention to the fact that no measure which runs against the spirit and recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act should be taken.

Drawing on Hungarian experience, Mr. Horn said the drawbacks of tourism can be cut back by various measures, including more stringent customs regulations. However, no measure should be taken with the possible effect of crippling tourist traffic.

Finally, the two sides agreed to launch expert talks next week on the subject with the countries involved.

In the course of a few-minutes-long tete-a-tete exchange of views, the letter addressed by Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, to President Havel on the question of the Hungarian nationality in Czechoslovakia, was also mentioned. Mr. Havel said he had carefully studied the letter and prepared to give a reply soon.

Mr. Horn also said that the meeting of the foreign ministers was unanimous on that the German reunification was inevitable and the issue was the affair of the German people.

They also agreed that the military and political status of the new Germany should be shaped in harmony with European security requirements. Accordingly, there was a consensus in that the existing borders should be observed. There were differences of views, in whether the future Germany should be a member of NATO or have a neutral status.

The Hungarian standpoint, also adopted by the delegates of Czechoslovakia and Poland, is that a Germany which is the member of NATO would mean a smaller threat to Europe, as this alliance system has a coordinating mechanism which excludes the military predominance of any of its members. In case of a neutral status, no sufficient guarantees would exist to this effect, nor could the military strength of Germany be properly monitored.

The views expounded at the conference cannot be regarded as a final position, and the meeting, which was first of all a consultation is to be followed by further expert and coordinating talks.

Skubiszewski, Shevardnadze Hold Meeting

LD1703230890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Following his return from the Prague meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers, Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that the demand for our western border to be ratified and guaranteed met with full support from the meeting's participants. This was not unexpected, because these states have recognized the Odra and Nysa border for a long time. He said the border should stay where it is. However, in connection with the Two-Plus-Four conference, it is a matter of importance for us to have this reaffirmed.

Minister Skubiszewski also said that he met in Prague with Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The talk revolved round the issue of German unification and Poland's interests connected (?with it).

Soviet East Europe Troop Withdrawals Welcomed

AU1603131790 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 6 Mar 90 p 4

[Arben Karapici article: "Soviet Troops on the Way Home"]

[Text] Recent developments have brought to the fore the familiar problem of the superpowers' military presence in Europe. Some East European countries are insistently demanding talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territories; such a process is starting in some places, and in others is well under way. Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel returned from Moscow with an agreement for the withdrawal of 73,500 Soviet troops. Hungary and the Soviet Union have begun the final phase of talks for the total withdrawal of military forces and, despite all the misunderstandings and obstacles, it is expected that they will reach their goal by 10 March. Meanwhile, Romanian President Ion Iliescu underlined in an interview with the French daily LE MONDE that "the new political conditions render superfluous the further existence of NATO and the Warsaw Pact as military blocs."

The opposition to all forms of the superpowers' military presence in Europe and the growing demands for its removal are based on a very strong political motivation, which involves the destinies of the continent's peoples and sovereign countries. The European peoples, who have been subjected to the full and increasing burden of the threat and danger of the foreign military presence, have been the most concerned of all. As REUTER reported, a battalion of East German soldiers recently refused to take part in a planned joint maneuver with the 380,000 Soviet troops that are still in the GDR. A wave of anger against the presence and activities of the Soviet troops in Poland has swept over the entire Polish people. Polish disgust at the acts of brutality and crimes committed by Soviet soldiers and officers reached such a level as to force the high-ranking military official Mieczyslaw Debicki to make a statement which observers considered "a very harsh criticism of the Soviet troops in Poland."

Expressed in various ways, this opposition has been continually increasing, and has simultaneously involved a strengthening of the lofty national feelings of the European peoples. One consequence of the masses' legitimate demands has been the standpoints of the governments of European countries, which have been forced to take these feelings into consideration.

As the Soviet troops make their way home, a welcome, Europe-wide process has begun which encourages hope for a more healthy climate of trust and security throughout the continent. This is in accordance with the lofty national aspirations of the European peoples, who consider the dissolution of the blocs and the withdrawal of U.S. and Soviet troops as a precondition for their truly free and independent development.

Trade Protocol With Hungary Signed 15 Mar

AU1603132390 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 16 (ATA)—The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments for 1990 was signed in Tirana between the Government of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Hungary. The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Altin Ylli, deputy minister of foreign trade, and for the Hungarian side by Apro Piroska, deputy minister of foreign trade.

Attending the signing ceremony were the members of the two delegations, as well as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Hungary to the PSR of Albania, Mihaly Kornidesz.

On the basis of the protocol Albania will export to Hungary copper wires and cables, tobacco, medicinal herbs, fruit and vegetable tins, various chemicals, etc., and will import medical equipments, medicines, raw materials, various textiles, films and photographic paper, etc.

Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, received on March 15, the deputy minister of foreign trade of the Republic of Hungary. Attending was also Mihaly Kornidesz, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Hungary to the PSR of Albania.

Lukanov, Ryzhkov Begin Talks in Moscow

AU1903103590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] On 19 March in the Kremlin, talks began between Bulgarian and Soviet delegations, led by the leaders of the two countries' governments, Andrey Lukanov and Nikolay Ryzhkov, respectively. Our correspondent Borislav Dzhamdzhiev reports from Moscow:

[Dzhamdzhiev] Less than two hours ago at the Fifth Hall of the Soviet Government's building, 12 members of each delegation began to review a wide range of issues related to further developing bilateral relations. The delegations will focus their attention on the prospects of expanding economic cooperation and the state of bilateral deliveries. There is no preliminary agenda and that is perhaps why Andrey Lukanov preferred to postpone his meeting with journalists until the results of the talks are known. It is expected that in about three hours the Bulgarian premier will be received by Mikhail Gorbachev. Earlier today Nikolay Ryzhkov talked with the journalists:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording in Russian, fading into Bulgarian translation] We are good friends with Bulgaria and Andrey Lukanov. Indeed, we are old friends with Lukanov, and I am happy to see him as a premier. This is my first meeting with him as a premier. We are facing open [otkriti] and profound talks. This is a difficult period and we must rapidly travel a complex road toward forming the rule-of-law state. We must learn not only from our experience, but also from our mistakes. Each East European country selects its own variant. I think that the Bulgarian variant is the one that is closest to ours. The situation in the GDR is very complex. Things look completely different in Romania. However, this is a period we must pass through, Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out. I expect the present talks to produce beneficial results for both sides. [end recording]

Lithuanian Independence Efforts Evaluated

AU1603133190 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Mar 90 p 4

[Captain Ivan Genov commentary: "Lithuania: A Fair Accompli"]

[Text] Elections were held ahead of schedule. Extraordinary parliamentary sessions took place. In an unprecedented, dramatic political race, Vilnius seems to be ahead of Moscow. However, the decisive factor, in my opinion, is not so much the offensive strategy of "Sajudis," but the well-known hesitations and lack of resolve of the center throughout the five years of the perestroyka whose original initiator it was. Along with other, exceptionally important problems, the nationality problem lagged behind the requirements of the new era.

At the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, its state sovereignty was restored, which de facto means its separation from the USSR. Regardless of the convincing election campaign, which ensures the unhindered adoption of the fateful decision, "Sajudis" made everything possible to accelerate events. Misgivings were expressed on several occasions that the introduction of a president with expanded competences in the USSR would be likely to obstruct the process of national self-determination. I think, however, that the concern expressed in this respect is exaggerated. We could hardly expect Moscow to try to find a solution based on tanks, regardless of how painful and undesirable the secession of one of the 15 Soviet republics might appear at the present stage. The stormy changes in East Europe are a clear confirmation of the Soviet leadership's basic adherence to the ideas of new political thinking, which categorically rejected any solution based on force related to any controversial problems whatsoever. It is not logical to assume that this principle should only be applied to relations with foreign states, and Moscow has not indicated this by any action so far.

From a formal point of view, the independence of Lithuania is an established fact. However, we can expect to witness a long and difficult process of Lithuania's real development as an indepedent state. International recognition is required. So far, the West has manifested diplomatic restraint and a wait-and-see attitude. Economic conditions are extremely difficult. Radio Vilnius announced that Moscow would presumably demand compensation amounting to 41 billion rubles ($33.6 billion at the official exchange rate). This includes R17 billion for Soviet national projects and investments in Lithuania, and R4 billion for postponed debts. Naturally, these payments are not expected at once. It is not a question of economic pressure with specific political intentions. This condition would not be acceptable, because Lithuania could also demand compensations, namely for the damage caused by the Stalinist repressions, by the primitive and uneffective model of supercentralized planning and management. In other words, a normal settlement of bilateral interstate relations should be sought.

The most appropriate way of solving this and other problems under discussion, such as the military problem (the presence of Soviet troops in Lithuania), the moral aspect (providing guarantees for the non-Lithuanian part of the popuation, which is about one-fifth), and others, would be the negotiating table. The nonviolent methods according to which events have so far proceeded suggests that both interested sides are ready to engage in a dialogue as equal and sovereign partners. As a matter of fact, the aspect that most strongly impresses me in connection with the "case of Lithuania" is the peaceful and civilized manner in which this fateful decision was implemented and discussed. The propaganda myth of "new oppositions" that fundamental and radical democratic changes on a parliamentary basis and a real manfifestation of people's power are impossible under a one-party, communist rule is thus disproved.

Independent Lithuania 'Favorable Factor'

AU1603141790 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 11, 14 Mar 90 p 11

[Vladimir Avramov article: "Secession"]

[Text] So, Lithuania has left the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. As far as one could judge by the available information, Lithuania left without even saying goodbye. Among the reasons, one could also point out Moscow's grave moral debt to the Baltic republics, the legitimate desire of every nation to have its own state, the uncontrolled development of passions, glasnost, and democracy, and the emergence of certain nationalistic organizations, whose slogans are very popular today. The secession is just one aspect of the phenomenon. One could analyze and ponder over its reasons. However, in one way or another, we must speak about the secession in the past tense. Forecasting the future is the other aspect of the issue. Will a chain reaction follow and will other republics decide to do the same? What will this mean for international relations?

The power of the USSR lies both in its unity and versatility. Every republic gives something to the others, but also receives from them. Are there also other republics whose balance is so sharply negative that they would like to secede from the union? It is possible that the other Baltic republics will follow the example of Lithuania. The bloodshed in Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan is a sad confirmation of the fact of how difficult it is to control nationalistic passions. In their plight, those republics turn for help to Russia. However, the assistance offered is military. It must produce bitter memories. Then? After a period of relative tranquility we could witness a climax in the anti-Russian mood. While it is impossible now to predict whether this mood will lead toward organizational decisions, the possibility exists. Let us remember that the Muslim republics along the USSR's southern border have the ambition to influence the Muslim population of some of the republics. In other words, the issue does not belong exclusively to the sphere of domestic politics.

The issue of the international situation after Lithuania's decision is even more complicated. Influential Western forces would be happy to see the USSR unity undermined. At the same time the real supporters of democracy, and consequently, of "restructuring," continue to consider Mikhail Gorbachev the driving force of the new processes, and would not like to see his country weakened during those fateful years.

In the sphere of security, I adhere to the forecast that a new state will facilitate tranquility, especially in the area of the Baltic Sea. The striving for a reduction in tension has existed for a long time in this region, and I am inclined to interpret the appearance of the new republic as a favorable factor of peace. Lithuania seceded in a situation in which the tendency of stability is strengthening, and every active step in the opposite direction would be unnatural.

Finally, let me say a few words about the issue that at present is on the tip of our tongue: What will happen to the USSR? It is our main ally and, in general, one of the two countries whose power balances the international situation. Despite the numerous and various slogans, the USSR does not face disintegration. However, it is more important that political, economic, and cultural traditions continue to play their uniting role. This evokes the thought that there is a limit even to the seemingly uncontrolled glasnost and democratization.

Balkancar Company Replies to Cuba's Criticism

AU1603211990 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—In connection with the Cuban leadership's criticism of the quality of Bulgarian-made ice trucks, the spokesman of the Balkancar company has sent a formal statement to the Bulgarian News Agency. The statement says that 95 per cent of the annual output of electric and ice trucks is exported to 70 countries. The company has signed direct delivery contracts and carries out joint industrial production (assembly of industrial trucks out of Bulgarian-made components) with Cuba as well as with West European countries: the FRG, Britain, Italy, Denmark, and with other countries.

In 1975 the Balkancar company signed a general agreement on industrial cooperation and joint production of industrial trucks in Cuba with the Havana-based association for the production of construction equipment and cogwheels. The product mix covered by the agreement was expanded twice: in 1981 and in 1986.

Bulgarian experts and representatives of the Ministry of Machine-Building in Havana have been systematically checking the condition of industrial trucks delivered to Cuba. The reports on these inspections make it clear that the dilapidation of Cuba's industrial-truck fleet is due to the lack of skilled maintenance workers in all provinces and to the high labor turnover and the inadequate training of drivers, mechanics and electricians maintaining the industrial trucks. Another reason is the unjustified disassembly of industrial trucks for spare parts and units due to inadequate organization of supplies.

Balkancar meets its obligations on spare-parts delivery, and this year it is even expected to increase to 2,500,000 rubles in value terms.

Despite the undeserved criticism, the Bulgarian company assures Cuba that it will help it modernize the J. Marquez plant and the plants overhauling industrial trucks and manufacturing spare parts and will assist in the improvement of the maintenance service network.

Mladenov Greets Hungarian President

AU1603131890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Mar 90 p 6

[Text] State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov sent a greetings message to interim President Matyas Szuros of the Hungarian Republic on the country's National Day.

The message expresses confidence that the friendship and mutual respect between the two countries and peoples that have rich traditions and a common historical past in the struggle for national liberation and progress will develop and strengthen. The profound democratic transformations that are taking place in Bulgaria and Hungary are a guarantee of this, the message reads.

Bulgarian-Greek Commission Discuss River Pollution

AU1603174290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] The Joint Bulgarian-Greek Commission on Questions of Border Rivers met in Svilengrad and in the Greek town of Orestias, to discuss the ecological situation of the rivers.

In connection with the concern expressed by the Greek side about the quality of the Maritsa River, Bulgarian Ministry of Ecology and Ministry of National Health and Social Welfare representatives had talks with their Greek partners. It was proposed to establish a separate commission on the Maritsa waters that is likely to begin its work before the river becomes shallow, when a deterioration of the river's ecological situation is expected.

The talks proceeded in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere. They represented the first step toward the practical application of the principles on border rivers that were adopted in the documents of the ecological meeting of European countries that took place in Sofia in the fall of 1989.

Kurdish Students Demonstrate Against Iraq

AU1603190390 Sofia BTA in English 1606 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—The Kurdish students in Bulgaria staged a protest rally in connection with the second anniversary of the events in Halabja. The students commemorated the five thousand dead and ten thousand injured after a chemical weapons attack on the Kurdish population in the town of Halabja, Iraq, on March 16, 17 and 18, 1988.

The participants in the rally raised placards and slogans condemning the use of chemical weapons and those who use it. Standing with their backs turned to the Iraqi Embassy they observed a minute of silence in memory of the Halabja dead.

Mr Mahmud Shahi, chairman of the Kurdish Community Organization in Bulgaria, spoke about the outrages against the Kurdish population in Halabja.

The protestors supported the demand that March 16 be declared an international day for a chemical weapons ban and urged for freedom and independence of Kurdistan.

International Bank Delegation Visits

AU1503184390 Sofia BTA in English 1739 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—In relation with Bulgaria's steps for membership in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development its representatives are paying a visit to this country and some preliminary consultations have taken place with them.

Led by the deputy-director of the Department for Eastern Europe, George Seiden, they met today with Mr Belcho Belchev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finances.

Opinions were exchanged on preliminary decisions, which the Bulgarian Government should take to facilitate the consideration of this country's candidature and its participation in the world bank. Some of the issues of the economic reform in Bulgaria were discussed on which the bank experts gave their opinions. According to them, the reform should be carried quickly, without neglecting any of the elements of market economy. Special attention was paid to changes which should take place in the sphere of finances, credits and foreign currency and payment relations with other countries. According to a general estimation of the experts the initiatives mapped up by the Government are in the right direction.

On the invitation of the Government, experts of the Ministry of the Economy and the Ministry of Finances of the FRG have arrived here for consultations.

At a meeting with Mr Belcho Belchev they considered both general as well as many concrete issues related with the economic reform. The experts stated two stances about the ways for turning to a market economy; one was the FRG examples in the application of the so called Erhard Reform. It requires a comprehensive and parallel carrying of the reform: prices, money conversion, credits and taxation system and types of property on he basis of an market economy.

Dwelling on the Polish way for overcoming the crisis, they stressed that with this method it is particularly important to manage the processes of inflation.

Lukanov Meets Bank Official

AU1703162990 Sofia BTA in English
1327 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)—Bulgaria may join the World Bank before the end of the year, according to IBRD official George Seiden who paid a five-day visit here.

Mr George Seiden, deputy director of the World Bank's East European Office, conferred yesterday with Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Bulgaria's application for membership of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), submitted in February 1990, figured high on their agenda.

In the light of the economic reform in Bulgaria the sides considered the opportunities for more active cooperation with the World Bank in this country's transition to a market economy. They discussed the bank's experience in farm reform, in the denationalization of businesses and in banking.

Mr Seiden held talks with cabinet members in charge of finance, the economy and planning and other portfolios and with the governor of the Bulgarian National Bank to specify the further steps towards Bulgaria's membership in the World Bank and in the associated lending institutions. The sides discussed the bank's offers to grant loans for the restructuring of the Bulgarian economy.

Mr Seiden yesterday told the press that the bank positively intends to support Bulgaria's transition to a market economy. He said he did not see any reason why Bulgaria should not join the World Bank before the end of 1990.

Lukanov Receives EEC Delegation

AU1503213290 Sofia BTA in English
2027 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—In relation with the Bulgarian Government memorandum on the economic policy and the needs of international aid for the country, which had recently been handed to the EEC, a delegation of the EEC arrived to this country. It is headed by the Mr Pablo Benavides, director in the Commission on Economic Relations With the Countries From Central and Eastern Europe.

Today the delegation was received by Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers and was acquainted in detail with the draft for an economic reform, the work of the national roundtable and the ways for overcoming the crisis.

Mr Pablo Banavidis stressed that it is particularly important that a reform which is so complex and difficult and will concern all layers of the population, will be backed by the whole society and by all political forces. Under the conditions existing in this country he thinks that it is most appropriate that the reform should be carried in two stages. It was stressed that the wide financial cooperation could develop namely on the basis of a serious program for transition to a market economy. Special attention was paid to problems of agriculture.

Opposition Leaders Meet Latin American Diplomats

AU1303205690 Sofia BTA in English
1944 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] has been allowed to publish its DEMOKRATSIYA daily in a practically unrestricted circulation and to distribute it to an unlimited number of subscribers, said Mr Petko Simeonov, a senior UDF official, speaking at a meeting of the union's leadership with the ambassadors and the ministers plenipotentiary of Uruguay, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, Venezuela and Brazil [as received] accredited here.

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the UDF Coordinating Council, familiarized the Latin American diplomats with the union's struggle for the complete elimination of the totalitarian regime and for building a modern democratic Bulgaria. He said that the UDF will go to the forthcoming parliamentary elections on a single democratic platform and on a single ticket, and that "the UDF will by all means win the elections." The UDF leader expressed the opinion that even though all financial and material resources are in the hands of the Communist Party, the union's victory is certain because the Bulgarian people wants democracy and freedom and associates their achievement with the UDF.

Dr Zhelev briefed the guests on the highlights of the UDF alternative economic crisis-management program which envisages a one-time privatization of state property. "We'd rather opt for a 'shock therapy' because it will cost the country less. A single administration of therapy is less painful then a lengthy course of treatment," he said.

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, Mr Petko Simeonov and other UDF leaders answered in detail questions on the union's election campaign which requires National Radio and Television time, an organization of UDF election offices, etc. The union's strategy is to set up an organization "adaptable to any electoral law," Mr Petko Simeonov said.

Rally Protests Yugoslavia's 'Speculations'

AU1803202290 Sofia BTA in English
1904 GMT 18 Mar 90

["Bulgarian Political Parties Condemn Speculations With 'Macedonian Problem'"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA)—The speculations of certain circles in Yugoslavia with the nonexistent

"Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria were categorically condemned today by several political parties and organizations.

At a rally organized by the Bulgarian National Democratic Party an appeal was made upon the Bulgarian Government to insist on guaranteeing the rights of all Yugoslav citizens of Bulgarian ethnic awareness. The participants proposed to work out a national programme for the spiritual unity of all Bulgarians by strengthening the ties among the Bulgarian communities in Yugoslavia, Romania, the USSR, Western Europe, the United States and in other countries. The rally adopted a resolution in which the desire is pointed out to develop the relations between Bulgaria and Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

Representatives of the Union of Macedonian Cultural and Educational Societies, of the Socialist, the Christian Republican, the Liberal Democratic and other parties condemned the anti-Bulgarian propaganda launched in Yugoslavia qualifying it as an attempt to interfere in Bulgaria's internal affairs.

The participants in the rally declared themselves to be for the exposure of the people who are responsible for the nihilistic ethnic policy of Bulgaria in the last decade. They condemned pan-Serbian chauvinism, expressing at the same time a desire to live in peace, understanding and good-neighbourly relations with the Serbian people and all peoples in Yugoslavia.

He rally ended with a protest demonstration in front of the Embassy of Yugoslavia in Sofia.

Pirinski, Dzhurov Visit Macedonia Area

AU1903092990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Mar 90 p 2

[Ivan Ilkov report: "Meetings in Pirin Area"]

[Text] Blagoevgrad—Georgi Pirinski, Supreme Council deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Supreme Council member and minister of national defense, visited the Pirin area. They had meetings with the chairmen of the BCP Municipal Councils in Blagoevgrad and Kyustendil Districts and discussed with them the referendum about the party name, issues related to the forthcoming elections, and the BCP's cooperation with the different sociopolitical forces in finding a solution to the economic crisis.

The two members of the BCP Supreme Council also had meetings in Gotse Delchev area.

Restoring Macedonian Street Names Demanded

AU1803210490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] The Bulgarian National Democratic Party has initiated a signature-collecting campaign aimed at returning the entire property of the Union of Macedonian Cultural-Educational Associations by the Fatherland Front National Council, and restoring the old names of Macedonia Square, now called Dimitur Blagoev Square; Pirovska Street, now called 3 April Street; Nishka Street, now called [first name indistinct] Tsanov Street; and Solunska Street, now called Vasil Kolarov Street.

Macedonian Organization Issues Newspaper

AU0503103090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Mar 90 p 2

[Miglena Veselinova report: "Will We Read the MAKEDONIYA Newspaper?"]

[Text] The Union of Macedonian Cultural-Educational Societies in Bulgaria, at its restoration congress at the beginning of January 1990, decided to issue its own press organ—the newspaper MAKEDONIYA.

Newspaper acting Secretary Ognyan Dobrev told us that the editors submitted their request for publication a month ago. The galley proofs of the first issue are ready and they are just waiting for the permit to publish, after which readers will have the opportunity to buy the newspaper.

The first issue is devoted to the 3 March National Day and the role it played for Bulgarians in the Macedonian areas.

New Macedonian Organization Forms in Skopje

AU0103141590 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 28 Feb 90 p 4

[BTA report: "New Attacks Against Bulgaria"]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 February (BTA)—The constituent meeting of the so-called "Movement for All-Macedonian Action (MAAK)," which does not hide its nationalistic ambitions and aspirations for equal participation in the political life of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, took place in Skopje. According to Professor Gane Todorovski, one of MAAK's founders, the new party will struggle for the "comprehensive intellectual unification of the Macedonians, and will defend their basic civic, national, political, cultural, and religious rights in the Aegean and Pirin region of Macedonia and in Albania as well."

During the lively discussion in the hall of Skopje theater, many of the participants attacked Bulgaria's policy related to the so-called "Macedonian national minority," and accused Bulgaria of conducting an "anti-Yugoslav" and "anti-Macedonian" campaign. The participants in the meeting demanded a reevaluation of basic elements of Macedonian history, and thus neutralize what they defined as constant attacks in this context in certain neighboring countries.

Daily Analyzes Macedonian Issue Origins

AU2802151890 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Feb 90 p 4

[Iliya Yanakiev article: Let Bygones Be Bygones"]

[Excerpts] Some people were shocked by that rally. They are puzzled by its goals and timing, and try to connect it with the events in Kosovo. They explain it by the hope of certain Yugoslav circles that now Bulgarian policy would be susceptible to external pressure.

There is no place for surprises. The Skopje rally expressed ideas and raised slogans that express a lasting, consistent, and steady policy. Its roots can already be found in the Kingdom of Serbia at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, and in the prewar Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It is not important whether the Slavonic population of Macedonia will declare itself "real Serbs" or people that have existed since time immemorial. The most important thing is that they are not Bulgarians and that they remain within the borders of the (Serbian) Yugoslav state. [passage omitted on Bulgaria accepting the political realities established by World War II]

At the end of 1944, the Fatherland Front Government agreed to include Bulgaria in Federative Yugoslavia. It was only our country's unclear international status that prevented a unification that would have been lethal, both for the Bulgarian people and the Yugoslav Federation. Nevertheless, in 1944, under the pressure of Tito and Stalin, the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and afterward—all other Fatherland Front parties—had to reconcile to the Yugoslav thesis that the Macedonian issue had finally been resolved within Federative Yugoslavia. That meant that not only Bulgaria relinquishes all claims on the Yugoslav part of Macedonia, but also that the other parts located on the territories of Bulgaria and Greece must merge the unilaterally proclaimed Macedonian People's Republic. This was the reason for the policy of compulsive Macedonization that was conducted in the Pirin region. Bulgarians were forced by their own state to declare themselves non- Bulgarians. Yugoslav emissaries were given total freedom of activity. This policy was relinquished a long time ago. The population rid itself of the national belonging that was forced upon it. Nevertheless, the issue is still being used today by Yugoslavia as an international justification for presenting claims to Bulgaria. Yugoslavia did not relinquish those claims throughout all vicissitudes of our bilateral relations. On the contrary, it insistently posed those claims as a precondition of good-neighborly relations, and propigated them both in the domestic and international arenas. At the same time, we, while eliminating the mistakes that we allowed after the war, continued to believe that compromises are necessary for the sake of greater cooperation and understanding and kept silent. It was forbidden to raise the disputed issues, or even answer claims from outside related to the issue.

We were not merely requested to recognize the Macedonian Republic and its Macedonian people. We were obliged to renounce a part of our people and territory, and erase a part of our past. When we spoke or wrote about our history in the ninth and 19th century [dates as printed], we were accused of posing claims to Yugoslavia. On the other hand, when Yugoslavia insists that there is a Macedonian minority in Bulgaria, this is presented as concern for Balkan peace. Tact and compliance were viewed as a weakness that implied the possibility of new concessions. [passage omitted on Skopje rally as an expression of long-lasting Yugoslav policy]

The past has burdened us with a grave heritage. The unresolved issues block the road toward establishing good-neighborhood relations. However, let bygones be bygones. Let the historians do their job, and the politicians theirs. We have no other alternative than understanding, based on the principles of reciprocity and equality. Unilateral disarmament does not eliminate the threat and does not create security. It is high time that Yugoslavia acknowledged the realities and relinquished the ambitions that for so long have poisoned relations in the Balkans. There are not many states in Europe that are so predisposed for friendship as Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

If somebody relied on our disunity, he was wrong. The new Yugoslav campaign produced a great benefit. It provided the opportunity of expressing the unanimity of the entire Bulgarian public—both the ruling and opposition circles—in the name of the people's unity and the state's dignity. What remains is to hope that certain circles in Yugoslavia will understand that they must not insist on immutability in a world that is quickly changing in the positive direction.

Front, Other Organizations on Macedonia

AU2102220090 Sofia BTA in English 2126 GMT 21 Feb 90

["Nobody Has the Right to Reshape the Balkans"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 21 (BTA)—The National Council of the Fatherland Front has approved a statement which expresses concern and amazement that the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia the organization which should make every endeavor to promote cooperation and good neighborly relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia has became the initiator and organizer of public anti-Bulgarian demonstrations and distortions of the historical truth.

We are surprised that after the establishment of closer and more normal relations between the Fatherland Front and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia the latter relapsed to unfriendly actions, it is said in the statement. We would like to believe that the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Macedonia and Yugoslavia will realize what harmful effect the

campaign may have and we hope it will revert to the policy of peace, cooperation and understanding.

The Bulgarian writers have come out with a declaration which states that the Skupstina of Yugoslavia has no right to reshape the history or the map of the Balkans, nor has it any right to declare that part of the Bulgarian citizens are an imagined minority.

This is an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Such an act can be qualified in no other way but as a recidivism of Stalinist policy on the ethnic problems a policy that has had a disastrous effect on the fate of many peoples, including that of Yugoslavia, the declaration goes on to say.

In Bulgaria everybody has the right to determine his national identity, the declaration underlines. This right is guaranteed by the Bulgarian Constitution and we would like the citizens of Macedonia to enjoy the same freedom and right in determining their nationality in accordance with the Helsinki and Geneva accords and agreements and in compliance with the new democratic spirit in Europe.

The Bulgarian People's Party and the Vardar Macedonian Club For Discussions in Blagoevgrad have also made declarations on the occasion.

Economic Leaders Union Opposes 'Shock Therapy'

AU1803203590 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA)—The Union of Economic Leaders that was set up two months ago now has more than 1 thousand members. Fifty regional unions and clubs have also been formed. The union has established contacts with the trade unions and the government. As a union which is closest to the Union of Employees, it got into touch with the World Organization of Labour. Negotiations are under way for opening a third "business channel" of the Bulgarian Television.

At the General Assembly of the union it was pointed out that the major purpose of the union is to pursue consistent policy of helping along economic leaders in the development of economic units to the interest of the national economy. The union is for giving green light to economic leaders' initiative, it backs the idea of a market economy, declares itself to be for a rapid transition to liberal economy, but it is against the "shock therapy" because the social price for this therapy appears to be too high. The union will seek a right to legislative initiative.

Stoyan Drundarov was elected chairman of the Union of Economic Leaders.

Mladenov Visits Mikhaylovgrad Oblast

AU1503200890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov is visiting Vidin. Our special correspondent Yasen Indzhev reports that the visit began with a meeting and a talk with workers and specialists of the (?Sreda) Chemical Enterprise.

Both at the meeting and rally that followed, the assessment of the present political situation in the country was the main subject of the citizens' questions and statements.

Petur Mladenov pointed out that it is necessary to expand the processes of renewal, which began even before 10 November 1989. The unenviable situation of our economy and social relations and the lack of confidence that has accumulated in our people and foreign partners are the starting points from which now must start to construct the new system.

Now, as we face the forthcoming elections, it is necessary that we prove to a world that has lent us a helping hand that we are a serious nation and people.

Petur Mladenov repeatedly pointed out that he is conducting those meetings and conversations as a head of state and not as a representative of a separate political party. Nevertheless, he answered many questions related to restructuring the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. Asked about separating the BCP from the state, he answered that in future the government will belong to the party that will win the elections.

At the meeting at the chemical plant, he developed further this topic and stressed that if the BCP wins the forthcoming elections, it will not form a single-party government, but will propose to all parties, represented in the National Assembly, that a coalition government be formed.

Visits Nuclear Plant

AU1603111090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] On 16 March, State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov continued his visit to Mikhaylovgrad Oblast. Yasen Minchev reports from Kozloduy:

[Begin Minchev recording] This morning Petur Mladenov visited the nuclear power complex, where after reviewing the fifth nuclear reactor, he met and talked with specialists from the Nuclear Energy Power Supply Economic Trust, investors, constructors, and fitters.

The State Council chairman was briefed on the work of the collective, the measures that have been adopted for improving security and radiation safety, and about unresolved problems, or problems, whose solution has been delayed by the government. The State Council chairman changed the tradition of merely answering questions,

and in a dialogue with the specialists, on behalf of all Bulgarian citizens, he requested additional information about the radiation situation.

It was pointed out that the radiation does not exceed the permissible limit, however, new investments are necessary in order to guarantee the future safe work of the reactors. It was proposed that the National Assembly replace the numerous legal documents that have not been implemented until now by a law on nuclear power.

The meeting is still continuing. Petur Mladenov will also meet the municipal leadership of Kozloduy. [end recording]

Further on Mladenov Visit

AU1603210790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov continued his visit to Mikhaylovgrad Oblast today.

At a meeting with the collective of the Kozloduy nuclear power complex, he discussed questions related to the collective's work, the measures for safeguarding against radiation, and several unresolved problems. It was generally stressed during the discussion that the proposal of adopting a law on nuclear energy should be submitted to the National Assembly as soon as possible.

Petur Mladenov met representatives of the local political and social circles at the headquarters of the Municipal People's Council in Kozloduy. The opinion was expressed that a fair struggle by political means should be waged during the forthcoming election campaign, and regardless of which party is victorious, it will be expected to place nationwide interests over party interests. As the State Council chairman declared, it is irrelevant who is ruling the country; the important question is for the sake of what goals he rules.

Great attention was devoted to the country's peaceful transition to democracy.

Petur Mladenov proceeded to Mikhaylovgrad later in the day, where he visited the Pima Company, which produces batteries, machine-building goods, and spare parts. Certain measures for a painless transition from military to civilian production were discussed with the management of the plant.

In the hall of the local theater, the State Council chairman met citizens of Mikhaylovgrad and numerous people from all over the oblast. The main subject of the question-and-answer session was the requirement for intensifying the democratization processes in the country and the need of renewal in all spheres of life.

Discusses Foreign Relations

AU1703162490 Sofia BTA in English 1444 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)— "Relations with the USSR are a key pillar of Bulgaria's security. Bulgaria's opening up to Europe by no means can and should be opposed to the traditional ties with the Soviet Union. I am convinced that no matter which party will come to power after the elections, it will maintain and promote these relations," Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, said yesterday addressing a meeting of public figures in Mikhaylovgrad, Northwestern Bulgaria.

"Without ignoring all other forces which fought against the totalitarian system, we cannot but point to the role of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the revolutionary changes since November 10, 1989," Mr Mladenov said.

Discussing the emergence of new political forces in the country he said, "We are all new to the ways of democracy. We somehow look like little children learning to walk. It is only natural that we should stumble. What matters is to go ahead along this road without bloodshed." In this light, he commended highly the agreement on a peaceful transition to democracy, signed recently at the National Roundtable talks.

Rationalizing the need of holding free and democratic elections on an early date, the State Council president reiterated that what matters most for Bulgaria at this point is national unity and placing national interests before everything else.

Mr Mladenov yesterday met with workers and executives at the Kozlodoy Nuclear Power Plant. The head of state undertook to bring to the notice of the Council of Ministers the suggestion of then plant's workforce that a nuclear power industry act be drafted and passed.

Mr Mladenov, who is touring Northwestern Bulgaria, had meetings with representatives of different political forces in the town of Mikaylovrgad and with workforces.

Visit Ends

AU1703205890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] The three-day visit paid by State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov to Mikhaylovgrad Oblast ended today. We already informed our listeners about his meetings and talks held in the towns of Mikhaylovgrad and Vidin.

In Vratsa, Petur Mladenov met members of the local People's Council Executive Committee. He was briefed on the unresolved problems and the political situation in the country. It was stressed that the democratic system has strengthened over the last months and that, despite all difficulties, all political efforts are focused on overcoming the current tensions in the social and economic atmosphere.

Following this, Petur Mladenov visited the [name indistinct] plant where he was briefed on topical problems and tasks.

The population of the Vratsa farm [name indistinct] very cordially welcomed the State Council chairman. The preliminary program of the visit was often disrupted because of Petur Mladenov's wish to talk to the greatest possible number of people on the farm he visited and to members of the village grain- fodder brigade. The head of state devoted much time to discussions on problems of the agricultural sector which is expected to play a major role in speedily overcoming the country's economic crisis.

Before leaving Vratsa, Petur Mladenov also met cultural figures of the municipality whose numerous questions he answered.

Rights, Freedoms Movement on Roundtable

AU1603214990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] We received a declaration of the Rights and Freedoms Movement tonight that expresses its opinion on the national roundtable.

The declaration states that there can be no real national roundtable as long as all public forces, formations, and movements are not represented at it. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms represents a majority of our country's population that was most strongly affected by the totalitarian regime.

The movement has provided sufficient evidence for its active contribution to the achievement of a national consensus, for which it earned broad nationwide recognition.

Despite this fact, and in spite of numerous protest telegrams and letters sent to the national roundtable secretariat, the present participants in this forum decided that the representatives of the Rights and Freedoms Movement are not entitled to participate in discussing and resolving the problems of nationwide importance.

We evaluate this behavior as discrimination and as being in total contradiction with the advertised democratic platforms and ideas of the participants in the national roundtable, the declaration points out.

Ecoglasnost Rally Calls for Cleaner Sofia

AU1703162690 Sofia BTA in English 1437 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)—Today's march for a clean capital organized by the Ecoglasnost Independent Society ended with a rally.

Six columns of people campaigning for the protection of environment passed through the most seriously ecologically affected places in Sofia. Samples of the air and the soil in the dirtiest districts were taken.

At the rally Ecoglasnost demanded the adoption of a law which should ensure a balance between industry and ecology and establish a national system for control and monitoring of the environment with the participation of independent ecologists.

Ecoglasnost announced the postponement of the protest actions for ecologically clean children's foods because the competent authorities assured the ecologists that measures had been taken to control the the quality of children's foods produced in the country and imported from abroad.

Investigation of Mosque Fire Finds Cause

AU1603220490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] The fire in the Khaskovo Mosque, which broke out on the night of 12 March 1990, was caused by the carelessness of a young boy. This fact was announced to journalists today by representatives of the okrug Prosecutor's Office and the territorial investigation subdepartment in Khaskovo.

From the prompt investigations that have been conducted up to now, evidence was provided that a group of underage children had frequently climbed to the attic of the mosque, where they used to catch doves and sometimes even spent the night.

On the evening of 12 March, a 10-year-old boy secretly climbed through a window on the roof, and after smoking a few cigarette butts, carelessly fell asleep. Two of the butts fell unextinguished through the floor and [words indistinct]. The child woke up and, frightened by the incipient fire, he escaped. Then he spent the night in another place.

The investigative authorities are working to precisely reconstruct all of the circumstances connected with the fire, as the boy in question described them. The representatives of the mass media had the opportunity to see and film with their video cameras an investigatory experiment.

The competent organs are also following up on other versions connected with the causes of the fire that, apart from the mosque, also affected a shoe store, a small shop for distributing lottery tickets, and two artisans' repair shops. The public will be informed about the final results of the investigation after it has been completed.

Gypsies Form Roma Democratic Union

AU1803203090 Sofia BTA in English
1840 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA)—The Roma Democratic Union—a nonparty union of Gypsies in Bulgaria, was founded here.

At the founding conference of the union the unequal position of the Gypsies in society was pointed out. It was underlined that the so called "revival process" in Bulgaria began in 1954 by the first renaming of the Muslim Gypsies. The speakers stressed the damage done to the Gypsy ethos—disbanding ensembles, stopping the Gypsy paper, expropriating Gypsy clubs, banning their language, attempts to destroy Gypsies' culture and customs.

In his speech Manush Romanov pointed out that the elimination of any discrimination and the cultural and social growth of the Gypsies in Bulgaria are among the major aims and purpose of the new organization.

The director Manush Romanov was elected chairman of the Roma Democratic Union.

Alternative Women's Organization Established

AU1803141190 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] The Alternative Women's Union, [Alternativen Suyuz Nahenite] named after Ekaterina Karavelova, was founded at a constituent meeting in Sofia.

The union will be a democratic organization and considers itself the successor of the orginal Bulgarian Women's Union established at the beginning of the 20th century.

So far, no platform has been adopted, but the basic ideas of the union are focused on women's protection, on women's self-realization within the family, in professional and public life, on observing the laws guaranteeing the protection of mothers and children, and on making legislation more democratic.

The founders of the Alternative Women's Union announced that their organization shall be a legal body with headquarters based in Sofia and is expected to hold weekly meetings.

New Jewish Organization Established

AU1703203290 Sofia BTA in English
1830 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 17 (BTA)—An organization of the Bulgarian Jews was founded here today. Its name is Shalom (Peace). The organization is the legal successor of the Jewish Public, Cultural, and Educative Organization, but it is said in the platform adopted today that its methods are entirely new in principle.

Shalom will stimulate the initiatives of its members in the field of economic, social and cultural activity, will interact with Bulgarian and foreign associations and institutes. The organization is independent, non-party and self-managing. Its purpose is to contribute to the establishment of a humane and democratic society on the basis of consolidation with the Bulgarian people. One of its major tasks is to fight against any forms and acts of fascism, national chauvinism and anti-Semitism, to keep and assert the jewish ethnic and cultural traditions and values.

It is pointed out in the documents adopted today that the fate of the Bulgarian Jews is inseparately bound to the future of Bulgaria, their motherland. The same was underlined in the speeches of the founders of the organization.

Mr Edi Shvarts was elected chairman of the organization.

Zhelev Attends UDF Rallies in Turgovishte

AU1703210390 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Supporters of the Union of Demcratic Forces [UDF] held a rally on "Freedom" Square in Turgovishte today. Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev was among the participants. A declaration addressed to the local Municipal People's Council chairman was read at the rally. The declaration supports the three basic documents recently signed at the national roundtable. At the same time, the declaration demand that a municipal roundtable on problems of the political system should be held, that political propaganda and agitation in workplaces should be discontinued, and that the opposition forces should have access to copiers and to the local mass media. Ecological problems were also submitted to the local public.

The rally organized by the UDF on Dimitur Blagoev Square in Shumen lasted nearly two hours. With a summary of the union's election platform that was read at the rally, the election campaign for the forthcoming elections was virtually inaugurated. Representatives of various parties, movements, and clubs supported the document by pointing out its real importance for the further democratization of society in our country.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev delivered a speech in which he called for the unity of democratic forces in the election struggle and declared his support for a great National Assembly, for a new democratic constitution, and for a new election law as the only guarantees for the awaited changes.

Along with cheers in support of the UDF, the Shumen citizens also witnessed the uncivilized manners of a group of citizens who demonstrated their lack of political culture.

Council of Ministers Adopts Acts on Strazhitsa

AU1603211190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] A Council of Ministers announcement was submitted to the mass media. It points out that, following the 1986 earthquake that affected the Strazhitsa and Popovo areas, the government had adopted a series of measures.

Nevertheless, despite the work that was accomplished, the envisioned rates of restoration work were not achieved and the deadlines for the final restoration of the production capacities, the housing, and engineering infrastructure were not observed.

This evoked the justified dissatisfaction of the local population and the public all over the country.

In this connection and in order to accelerate the construction-restoration work in the area, the Council of Ministers adopted additional measures. For the purpose of providing the appropriate economic conditions for accelerating the implementation of the program and in order to complete the restoration work, the government has adopted the following decision:

The restoration committees under the municipal people's councils in Strazhitsa and Popovo are instructed to prepare comprehensive programs by determining the projects expected to be commissioned by the end of 1990 and in 1991.

The Ministries of Finance, Planning and Economy, and Construction, Architecture, and Amenities are instructed to provide the necessary financial and material resources for the implementation of the relevant programs.

In order to promote greater incentives for the construction enterprises, several alleviations in connection with payments, taxation, and other measures are envisioned.

The terms of enforcement of past government decisions that had enacted incentives for the workers engaged in the area will be prolonged.

The Council of Ministers announcement also reports that Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov met the Strazhitsa leaders. On behalf of the town's public, gratitude was expressed to the government for its concern and care. Incentives for the mobilization of the local population in contributing to the restoration work were discussed at the meeting, the announcement adds.

Decree on Private Farming Published

AU1403170390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Mar 90 p 2

["Extract" from Issue No. 20 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK on Decree No. 15 on Encouraging Individual and Private Initiative in Agriculture issued by the Council of Ministers in Sofia on 19 February]

[Text] Issue No. 20 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK carries the following important document:

Decree No. 15 on Encouraging Individual and Private Initiative in Agriculture issued by the Council of Ministers on 19 February 1990.

The new decree instructs the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, the people's councils executive committees, and the administrative councils of Labor Cooperative Agricultural Farms [LCAF] to create conditions for the development of individual initiative for the establishment and functioning of private agricultural farms, equal to those of other forms of farming and agricultural organizations. In accordance with Decree 922 of 1989, the following proposals are submitted to the LCAF, to the other agricultural organizations, and to the people's councils' executive committees:

1. To speed up the land-lease system without any restrictions relating to the size of the lot, to guarantee the right of inheritance, the right to other forms of farming, to provide equipment, premises, and cattle for private citizens, consumers, cooperatives, and other organizations that are engaged in the production of agricultural goods.
2. At the request of cooperative farmers and other citizens, to guarantee an optimal size of land for private use, including plots sown with permanent crops, such as vineyards, orchards, strawberry and raspberry fields.
3. To provide cooperative farmers with private plots for farming in their places of permanent residence for an unlimited period, with the right of inheritance, plots on which they should be entitled to cultivate permanent crops, to build hothouses and other premises, and to carry out other lasting improvements.
4. To place all uncultivated, abandoned, and unproductive plots and wasteland at the disposal of citizens, regardless of their places of work and residence. The size of the plots allocated to each of these citizens will be determined on the basis of the decree. The citizens will be entitled to establish private agricultural farms on the plots in question without paying any contributions and to freely use the agricultural goods they produce on these plots.

Sliven Women Prisoners' Strike Ends

AU1603181990 Sofia BTA in English 1610 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 16 (BTA)—Eighteen inmates of Bulgaria's only women's prison in Sliven ended their hunger strike after a several hours' long discussion yesterday with members of parliament and officials of the Prosecutor General's Office and of the prisons department. The interview met one of their conditions set on January 26, 1990: that a parliamentary commission come to their place of confinement to hear their objections to the National Assembly-granted amnesty. The 213 prisoners who signed the open letter and who are serving sentences for economic crimes, believe that

the beneficiaries of that humanitarian gesture are mainly criminal offenders and even repeaters.

The inmates were assured that these and other claims on the administration of punishments act will be brought to the notice of the competent authorities.

Prisoners told the press that sanitation, the food and accommodation in general had improved in the prison.

Glasnost, Restructuring Club Restored

AU1303153590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Mar 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Announcement—The Club in Support of Glasnost and Restructuring in Bulgaria Is Being Restored"]

[Text] Established by a group of public figures, scientists, and artists on 3 November 1988, the Club in Support of Glasnost and Restructuring in Bulgaria played a considerable role in the struggle against the totalitarian regime in our country. However, under the conditions of the authoritarian dictatorship, it was not in a position to discuss the topical problems of our social life, considering that its activities were reduced to adopting public statements on the most crucial political problems of the period.

The revival of our political life that followed the 10 November 1989 events, promoted the rapid development of the club into a mass organization as a result of which it was renamed as the Glasnost and Democracy Club. It joined the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] as a collective member. This changed the nature of the club. The organizational merging with the UDF involved the club in party-political power struggles and turned it into a minor part of a more important party formation, which was in contradiction with its nature and original tasks. Certain changes in the composition and political trends of the UDF further intensified the contradictions.

Under these circumstances, a group of the club's constituent members decided to restore it in its original form as an nonparty organization and as a center of discussions and debates where different views should confront each other and alternative solutions should be proposed.

By restoring its original name, the club separated itself from the UDF and from the respective Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs, which permits it to preserve its former independence. The members are free to join any political party or organization, whatsoever. As in the past, the club not only dissociates itself from all neofascist and neo-Stalinist, racist and chauvinist organizations and trends; it opposes all methods of violence in political action and struggle.

On questions related to its activities, the club is ready to cooperate with all parties and organizations, including the UDF and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], by simultaneously analyzing and criticizing their respective activities. The club intends to work for higher moral standards in our country's social struggles.

The Club in Support of Glasnost and Restructuring should be a place of debate and criticism, of analysis and proposals, whose basic task should be contributing to the fundamental transformation of our social, cultural, and political life, for overcoming the current crisis, and for the construction of real democracy in our country.

3 March 1990.

Initiators of the club in 1988: Brayko Kofardzhiev, Iskra Panova, Ducho Mundrov, Radoy Ralin, Boris Spasov.

Members: Academician Asen Datsev, Khristo Radevski, Valeri Petrov, Nevena Stefanova, Aleksandur Milanov, David Ovadiya, Assistant Professor Bernard Muntyan, Prof. Stoyan Karolev, Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov, Prof. Elka Panova, Senior Scientific Fellow Maria Dinekova, Prof. Maria Veleva, Prof. Snezha Avramova, Elena Atanasova, Margarita Nikolova, Voyn Kyatov, Nikolay Boyadzhiev, Georgi Naydenov, Dr. Maria Gulubova, Dimitur Stefanov, Scientific Fellow Deyan Deyanov, Zhana Bekhar, Senior Assistant Prof. Sasha Atanasova, and Chief Assistant Volga Todorova.

Green Party Weekly EKOPOLITIKA Starts

AU1003162290 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 10 (BTA)—The first issue of EKOPOLITIKA weekly of the Green Party comes on Monday [12 March].

"To make popular the Green movement, to turn it into a real force," reads the leading article of this weekly.

It runs an article "Is There Any Logic in Politics," by the party chairman Aleksandur Karakachanov. The issue offers an interview with Dr. Petur Beron, secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). "The Whole of Me Is Green," "Consoling Stories for Mothers and Poor-Eating Children," "Is There a Clean Place in Bulgaria?" "Who Is Eating What?" "Concern About the Snowdrop," and "The Green Hope of the USSR" are the names of the other articles. There is a black news brief, too, a selection of articles in the press about the grave state of Bulgarian nature.

EKOPOLITIKA will rely on information and articles by its friends and adherents, by all Bulgarian journalists.

Opposition Agrarian Newspaper Reappears

AU2702224390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Today the people of Sofia had an opportunity to buy the newspaper NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, the resurrected organ of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], which last appeared 43 years ago.

We congratulate our colleagues on the appearance of the first issue, and believe that they, with editor in chief Yosif Petrov, will cooperate with the editorial offices of Bulgarian Radio. [passage omitted with indistinct portions]

Once again, esteemed colleagues of the newspaper NARODNO ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, we wish you all success. [passage omitted]

Fatherland Front Leader on Democracy, Security

AU2702151990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with Ginyo Ganev, Fatherland Front National Council chairman, by unidentified RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter on Ganev's consultations with Petur Mladenov on 21 February; place and date not given: "Around the National Tricolor"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [RABOTNICHESKO DELO] Where will you now sit at the roundtable?

[Ganev] Irrespective of the fact that I am Fatherland Front National Council chairman, if I receive a vote of confidence, I am willing to continue to fulfill as before the functions of coordinator of the contact group and secretariat chairman of the national roundtable.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] What will you appeal for?

[Ganev] For democracy, but also for strong democratic order; freedom for the citizens, but also peace and calm for them; citizens' rights, but also security for them. This, in my view, is what we must fight for now. All the party banners must rally around our national tricolor.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] You spoke about an alliance, but you did not say anything about cooperation between the two sides.

[Ganev] Instead of the Fatherland Front, we must create a fatherland alliance of national concord, which many of the newly formed parties and movements can also join. I do not exclude the possibility of a tolerant, frank, and well-intentioned dialogue with the Union of Democratic Forces. We share the ideas of many of their representatives. The cooperation may not be permanent, but it is logical for us to join forces regarding the issues that affect everyone, or the major social strata.

Confirms Independence

AU2702144090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Feb 90 p 2

[Dora Chichkova report: "The Fatherland Front Declares its Aspiration for Independence"]

[Text] "As of next Monday morning, no chairman of a Fatherland Front Committee will ever go to an operational meeting [operativka] of a local party committee, and this applies to all parties!" This is what Ginyo Ganev, the Fatherland Front National Council's first chairman in years who is not a party member, declared.

At a meeting with journalists on 20 February, he expressed his views on the revival of the organization and on the restoration of its original goals and tasks as a broad public association.

The parties and social organizations in our country are perhaps exepcted to increase. However, associations of citizens of a nonpolitical nature, based on other interests, are also likely to increase. A great majority of people are expected to remain nonparty members. The Fatherland Front would like to become a true "home for the patriots and working people who do not intend to join any political parties."

The organization will strive to set an example of loyalty and mutual tolerance.

The forthcoming elections should remind us of the fact that the Fatherland Front always used to....win all elections in recent years. At the forthcoming elections, however, the organization is expected to rely on its own election platform and candidates who should, in the majority, be nonparty members. Nevertheless the Fatherland Front does not exclude an alliance for the elections with any political forces that might be interested in joining.

'ERA-3 Confederation' Leader Explains Stance

AU2302211390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Feb 90 p 6

[Evgeni Gavrilov report: "Demand To Take Part in 'Roundtable'"]

[Text] At the very beginning of the news conference held in Sofia on 20 February, Slavomir Tsankov, ERA-3 [expansion unknown] Confederation chairman, stressed that the nine political parties and movements that are members of this organization feel a certain distrust toward the national roundtable that is now in progress. The very concept of the roundtable has been corrupted because it cannot only have two sides. According to the participants in the ERA-3 movement for an alternative civic parliament, the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] is an artificially created opposition that serves as a background for cosmetic democratic changes in Bulgaria. ERA-3 is the true opposition, and enjoys wide public support.

This is the main reason for the demand for the confederation to be included in the national roundtable and for an alternative forum of a similar kind to be set up. These demands were followed by statements, in the form of ultimatums, that unless this happens, after the rallies and silent vigil, everything possible will be done to frustrate the roundtable. Bewilderment was expressed at why no teams of experts had been formed at the roundtable to propose various possible solutions of the issues under discussion, as is done in other countries.

In answer to a question about the membership of the confederation, Slavomir Tsankov replied that he has information, according to which smaller parties that are members of the UDF have been allowed to take part in the "roundtable." However, the "Business" Trade Union, a member of ERA-3, alone has 28,000 members. The conference did not end without an invitation to a rally. This will be organized on 25 February, and members of the government will be invited to come and answer citizens' questions.

Havel, Walesa Meeting Stresses Mutual Concerns

Exchange Views on Democracy

LD1703221790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] During a meeting at the Spindlerova chalet on the Czech side of the Krkonose mountains, President Vaclav Havel exchanged views with Lech Walesa, chairman of the Polish Solidarity National Executive Committee, on the development of democratic forces in the countries formerly ruled by totalitarian regimes.

During the meeting Vaclav Havel spoke about his morning meeting with the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact states. He stressed the need to form a new security system in Europe and to form new civic initiatives.

Lech Walesa explained at the beginning of talks why he had not arrived in Warsaw at the time of the Czechoslovak president's visit there. He said that he was aware of Vaclav Havel's busy program and wished to have more time when meeting him. This reasoning also explains why he initiated today's meeting in the mountains.

Both Comment on Lithuania

LD1703225290 Prague CTK in English 1933 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Odrodzenie March 17 (CTK)—At the end of their today's meeting in the Giant Mountains Vaclav Havel and Lech Walesa gave a press conference here (the Polish part of the borders).

Dealing with the issue of Lithuanian independence, Lech Walesa stressed: "We do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, and we shall not do it. But we know that the past system was enforced upon us, and it is the same everywhere. Therefore we expressed our attitude in the statement. Every nation has the right to sovereignty".

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel pointed out that "the right to independence and self-determination is one of the basic collective rights fixed firmly in a number of international documents, in the Soviet Constitution as well. We are of the opinion that it is Lithuania's and other republics' choice how to gain identity. I just hope that the result will be achieved in a peaceful way".

Statement Released

LD1703222290 Prague CTK in English 1903 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 19 (CTK)—"We have not met at our joint border by chance. We want to symbolically continue the tradition of the past years when Poles, Czechs and Slovaks—often deprived of the possibility of mutual contacts—met in the mountains to exchange experiences and information, discuss cooperation and above all come closer to each other", said a statement on today's meeting of Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Spindleruv Mlyn.

"The effort for democracy and civic society removes the totalitarian systems in all our countries. Central and Eastern Europe is facing a big hope. It is a task of all of us to change this hope into reality", the statement said.

To achieve this aim it will be necessary.

1. to preserve the character of our struggle, the starting point of which was the struggle for human rights and solidarity in the broadest sense of the word;

2. to coordinate in this spirit the effort not only at democratic order in our countries but also our return to Europe as a friendly community of free nations and democratic and independent states;

3. to insist on a rapid definitive end to the issue of World War Two and all its consequences, a natural part of such an end must be the final confirmation of the current European borders which should be ever more open at the same time;

4. to fully respect the right of all nations to self- determination, including the right to restoring statehood, to fully respect the collective rights of the national, cultural, religious, political and civic minorities on the principle of mutual understanding, tolerance and non-violence.

"We pledge to fulfil this task as citizens, regardless of the fact if we execute state functions or not. Institutional prerequisites must be built everywhere, both at the government, parliamentarian and civic spheres. Therefore we support all suitable proposals, including that for the creation of a Helsinki civic assembly as an instrument of international popular diplomacy", the statement said.

Ministry Supports Lithuanian 'Self-Determination'

LD1903112490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement on the independence of Lithuania. It emphasizes that Czechoslovak policy respects and supports the right of all nations to self-determination, freedom, and democracy and also to its own independent state system.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses the hope that the issue of the state independence of Lithuania will be settled by dialogue between independent partners in such a way that the interests of those involved are respected and do not unfavorably affect the principles of democratic development.

Havel, Others Rejoin Civic Forum as Advisers

AU1603162390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 90 p 2

[Dalibor Macha report: "On the Carpet in Prague"]

[Excerpts] When will the conflict in the Civic Forum [OF] in Brno, which might, in a simplified way, be described as a conflict between [Civic Forum leaders Petr] Cibulka and [Jaroslav] Sabata, end? The OF Coordinating Center is naturally interested in the earliest possible settlement because, given the approaching elections, the conflict jeopardizes the integrity of the movement and does damage to its credibility, as OF representative Jan Urban said on Wednesday.

This is why today [15 March] the Council of the OF Coordinating Center will consult with representatives of the Czech and Moravian regions to assume a stand on this unpalatable affair and propose a solution. The two Brno protagonists, too, received an invitation to come to Prague. [passage omitted]

OF spokesperson Jana Ryslinkova provided information on the founding of a new consultative body of the OF Coordinating Center—the collegium [kolegium]. It includes representatives of the state who have their origins in OF and are supported by it as well as representatives of the OF Coordinating Center. The first group is made up of Vaclav Havel, Petr Pithart, Petr Miller, Vaclav Dlouhy, Vaclav Klaus, Zdenek Jicinsky, Jiri Krizan, Jiri Dienstbier, and Valtr Komarek. The second group consists of Jan Urban, Ivan Fisera, Petr Kucera, Ivan Gabal, Vojtech Sedlacek, and Josef Vavrousek. The collegium will not make any decisions (which is the province of the OF Assembly), it has merely a consultative and informative role.

It was also announced that two new parties have become part of the OF—the Czechoslovak Republican Agrarian Party of Towns and the Countryside and the Party of the Czech and Moravian Countryside.

Havel Remarks Viewed as Anti-Slovak

AU1603173590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Stur Society to V. Havel"]

[Text] We take the liberty of turning to you as the first man of our country with an appeal to respect the demand of the Slovak nation. We were hurt by your words in the interview broadcast by radio from Lany. Although previously you were fair in criticizing the past references to the Czech consciousness merging with the Czechoslovak one, the above mentioned interview gave us an impression that, to a point, you yourself did not manage to escape this shortcoming. As Slovak nationals, we are highly disturbed by the personnel policies of the federation. Unfortunately, without any percentage mania in mind, we must note that in this respect the old policy did not change. We firmly believe that now is the time to start a truly honest federal policy. As Czechoslovakia is now a sovereign nation, we trust that you will ensure that Slovaks (while complying with the criteria of expertise and high morality) be given proportional representation in intergovernmental organizations and associations.

Havel Explores Jeleni Bunker in Prague Castle

LD1703230490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We are now showing a recording of what the Prague television newsreel managed to shoot today. It is thanks to them that you now can see truly interesting places such as Prague Castle at 8 A.M. today. We are recording, as is usual today, without preparations and without previous agreements. The President's ad hoc tour is now directed at the castle area: Jeleni bunker, which has long been closed to the public. We are offering a very exceptional excursion. Only selected and specially screened employees could come here. [passage omitted] Jeleni bunker is hiding a great secret of the Castle: Kilometers of secret corridors, hiding places which were to serve presidents and their closest allies in case of danger. It was here the activity of the armed forces was to be directed. It was supposed to be the chief headquarters. [passage omitted]

The Bunker has not been completed. The building started in 1951 on the basis of a decision of the military commission of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. It was being built for six years. Antonin Zapotcky decided to halt the project, most likely for economic reasons and also because it is in the center of the city—that is, in that place where a possible attack would be aimed. Since then the bunker has been empty. It continues to be useless. Its only advantage is that it is no harm to the castle because it is underground. Simply, today it is a dead project, good from the architectural point of view, but otherwise useless.

[Begin Havel recording] We shall look at this again and I would be glad if we could look at it from one point of view, namely, whether or not anything sensible can be made of it: For example if we could make a gallery out of it— raising the question of air conditioning, lighting, and so on, before the Trade Fair Palace is finished. The huge collections of the National Gallery could not be exhibited here underground. [end recording]

[Announcer] Another stop in the catacombs is the president's study and rooms of the chief command.

[Begin Havel recording] I am disappointed. I expected to have an apartment with refrigerators and champagne, as I experienced at all the other presidential places I have visited. But I have no phone here, or even a chair. How can I study here, I thought that there would equipment. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Last Convoy of Soviet Troops Leaves Frenstat

LD1803061790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] The last convoy of Soviet Army members left Frenstat pod Radhostem today. Twelve Soviet soldiers will remain in the town for now. They are members of the final cleanup group.

At the same time, a small unit of railway armed forces was moved to Frenstat to guard the deserted barracks.

A commission of experts discovered that the whole complex of military buildings was polluted by oil-based substances and that the cleaning station of waste water is not in working order. To repair an apartment in local towns after a Soviet family departs will require an investment of about 10,000 korunas.

Commentary Views Szuros Letter as 'Ultimatum'

AU1903090190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Mar 90 p 8

[Jozef Janto commentary: "We Reject Ultimatums"]

[Text] Last year, when totalitarian regimes in East and Central Europe—along with their iron and spiritual curtains—toppled one after the other, nations, rightly expected that they would live in harmony and understanding, that there would be mutual recognition and an exchange of values, and that this would, in effect, contribute toward mutual understanding and subjective enrichment in a united and peaceful Europe.

These expectations are, at last, being met. In countries inhabited by more than one national group or by ethnic minorities tumult has increased; indeed, national or ethnic issues (especially those that have long been unresolved) are a very sensitive sphere of mutual coexistence. Therefore, it is necessary to resolve them with the utmost consideration and without emotion.

Czechoslovakia and Hungary belong among such countries. In our country, in particular, relations between the 10 million Czechs and five million Slovaks, and especially between Slovaks and the ethnic Hungarian minority in southern Slovakia, are being put in order. A demonstration of this is the recent Slovak Republic Government session in Komarno which, only a couple of weeks after it had been established, considered it extremely necessary and essential not only to address certain problematic issues but also to resolve them effectively.

Therefore, the letter from M. Szuros, the Republic of Hungary's acting president, to Czechoslovak President V. Havel, in which he writes that "events in Slovakia may threaten relations between the two countries" (according to CTK), comes as a very surprising step. What events does Mr. Szuros have in mind? Czechoslovakia is the common state of Czechs and Slovaks, members of the Hungarian ethnic minority, as well as other minorities, and we think that the overwhelming majority of Hungarians living in southern Slovakia, acknowledge this and want to continue to coexist in harmony with Slovaks. We also think that the majority of Slovaks acknowledge this.

However, the text of Mr. Szuros' letter seems like an ultimatum from the representative of one country and one nation to the representative of a neighboring country and a neighboring people. Today, when we have to, and want to, look forward, to look for what unites us and not what divides us, and when we are casting glances more into the future than into the past (by the way, the history of the Slovak nation during the last decades of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is, literally, a history of genocide), such letters and ultimatums only provoke bad feeling. We would like to believe that Mr. Szuros will find the time to examine more closely the fate of the handful of Slovaks (which has remained out of a many thousand-strong minority) in Hungary. Indeed, to date, neither the Hungarian Government, nor Parliament, nor even the acting president himself have responded to their beseeching and alarming letter appealing for help in their agony.

Havel Sends Greetings to Hungary's Szuros

LD1503233490 Budapest MTI in english 2123 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague, March 15 (MTI)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel cabled his greetings to Matyas Szuros, interim president of the republic, on the occasion of March 15.

On the occasion of the Hungarian national holiday, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa also addressed a greetings telegram to his Hungarian counterpart, Miklos Nemeth, and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier cabled Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn.

Attitudes Toward Economic Reform Analyzed

AU1603094990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Feb 90 p 2

[Marek Buguszak, Ivan Gabal, and Vladimir Rak article: "Face to Face With Economic Reforms"]

[Text] After decades of life in an artificially "cushioned" environment—which, on account of its rules and regulations, was reminiscent of a kindergarten—where we all lived to the detriment of future generations, the following key questions have to be asked: Are we prepared for fundamental changes? Are we willing to scrimp and scrape and to invest in a better future?

Instead of theoretical considerations and evaluations, we will present our case by using the first results of representative sociological research analyses carried out by the Independent Social Analysis Group.

Citizens are extremely critical when comparing Czechoslovakia to advanced countries: 68 percent think advanced countries are at least 10-15 years ahead of Czechoslovakia in the effectiveness and efficiency of their economies. Sixty-two percent critically evaluate our standard of living; 55 percent are critical of the population's state of health and of health care; and 31 percent are critical of our education. The problem caused by environmental devastation, of course, is most palpably and most acutely perceived.

A natural consequence of such an evaluation of Czechoslovakia's situation is enormous public pressure for fundamental changes in the economic and social spheres: 84 percent are in favor of such changes; only two percent are against.

More than two-thirds of the population agree with the conversion to a market economy and with keen competition between all forms of ownership, competition which may even lead to bankruptcy; only nine percent of respondents are bitterly opposed. More than 55 percent of citizens think it is favorable to make the conversion to world prices and a convertible koruna, even at the expense of the short-term, but severe, worsening of our standard of living and the bankruptcy of a number of enterprises. During the conversion to a market economy, more than half the population is willing to accept a higher level of unemployment as long as this brings favorable prospects for a growth in the standard of living. At the same time, 31 percent of respondents are absolutely against any kind of unemployment.

In agriculture, agreement with private enterprise is surprisingly strong, even among agricultural workers. Thirty-six percent are in favor of the radical variant; only 12 percent are against. However, the readiness of citizens to stick their necks out will be decisive.

The question is: Among which sectors of the population is support for liberal reforms most intense and where, on the contrary, can resistance be expected? A more negative stance is held by agricultural workers, those in the countryside, and the older part of the population. In the case of agricultural workers and those in the countryside, this is—obviously—a consequence of their orientation toward individual and family interests as well as self-sufficiency. In other words, the inhabitants of the countryside—at least, to a greater extent than the rest of the population—give more priority to seeking an individual solution than a social solution to the critical economic situation.

The radical steps will bring a number of difficulties for a considerable part of the population: difficulties such as a decline in the standard of living, the necessity of finally beginning "to act like grown-ups," taking on responsibility for one's own life, and making independent decisions about it. Apart from the declared support for the reforms, the vital thing now is what individual citizens are willing to do. A large part of the population is willing, in the interest of making a successful transition to a prosperous society, to take risks, to make sacrifices, and to invest.

The high level of readiness for change among employees in heavy industry (44 percent) is also promising. The impact of change may be felt very soon in this sector. More than 40 percent of respondents intend to start to work hard in order to improve their prospects (53 percent of students and 53 percent of employees in heavy industry). Positive approaches are more characteristic of the cities and concentrated urbanized regions than of the countryside and agricultural regions. Negative motifs, of course, also play a certain role: anxieties about job redundancy (25 percent), about a decline in the standard of living (40 percent), and about price increases (74 percent). It is encouraging that, at the moment, only a small part of the population (17 percent) is approaching the future with resignation and does not intend to make use of the newly developing opportunities. We encounter passivity more often among agricultural workers and in the catastrophically neglected services sector.

The research recorded the Czechoslovak population at a time of extraordinarily heightened activity and resolve. However, coming round from the ecstasy of victory, the accumulation of everyday problems and worries, and the worsening economic situation will probably lead to a gradual easing off of this mood, to an erosion of resolve, and to ordinary tiredness. Every month will cut into the relatively favorable starting conditions, confidence in the government and the new political forces may decline, fear of the risks will increase, and problems will weigh heavily upon us. A lack of opportunities will even discourage those who now want to take risks, to scrimp and scrape, and to invest energy, time, and money in the future.

It would be irresponsible not to make use of the current favorable circumstances and not to start energetic reform steps as soon as possible—that is, before the elections. For this, it is essential that the public be thoroughly acquainted with the real situation in Czechoslovakia in all the significant spheres. The purpose and progress of the reforms should be clearly and intelligibly explained to it; the public has to gain trust in reform and take it up as its own. And finally, concurrently with working out a course of action in the economy, a system of social measures and institutions must be developed which will alleviate the shock of reform, especially for the socially weaker and vulnerable groups of the population.

IMF Official 'Impressed' by Economic Reform

LD1603132190 Prague CTK in English 1812 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—International Monetary Fund (IMF) European section deputy director

Manuel Gutian told newsmen here today that the program of economic reforms approved by the Czechoslovak Government has much impressed him as well as the strategy of the government's monetary and fiscal policy.

During his two day visit to Prague, the IMF representative got acquainted with results of an IMF mission which studied Czechoslovakia's prerequisites for admission to the IMF in the past two weeks, and held talks with leading Czechoslovak Government officials.

Mr. Gutian pointed out that he has not the feeling that his ideas and those of Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus would differ. At the same time, however, he pointed out that "a still stricter concept of economic reform could be desirable".

Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus repeated at the press conference that Czechoslovakia's application for admission to the IMF is the most clear expression of the country's effort to open its economy up for the world.

He said that today he prepared proposals on Czechoslovakia's withdrawal from some bilateral agreements within the CEMA which will be on the agenda of a session of the Czechoslovak Government next Thursday.

Planning Chief Accepts Reduction of State Role

LD1803123990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A seminar on the theme of current questions in Czechoslovak economy and its future development took place in Bonn today. Oldrich Sestak reports:

[Sestak] [passage omitted] On the subject of how individual enterprises should proceed, Vladimir Dlouhy [chairman of the Federal Planning Commission] said:

[Begin Dlouhy recording] Above all it is necessary to realize that the state will no longer operate as some kind of savior which on top of this will be compelled by power politics to solve individual inability to pay or insufficient finance for wages, and to individually undertake measures to save selected enterprises which are badly managed. It is necessary to realize that it is not possible to conduct business on the basis of a prerequisite that the state, by means of the plan, will balance out the whole transition to the market economy and make all enterprises profit making. This attitude would eventually lead good organizations to a quick prosperity, but bad ones would emerge again, losing even that that they gained in balancing out the original situation. Neither the state nor the banks have any resources and reserves for this balancing, and the only theoretical source is excessive inflation which we do not want, particularly not for such a purpose. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Apartment Rents To Rise 100-120 Percent

AU1603140490 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 14 Mar 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Military Service and Housing Discussed in Federal Assembly Committees"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday's meeting of Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees of both Federal Assembly Chambers in Prague concluded the discussion on the government-sponsored draft law on civilian service. [passage omitted]

Further, the deputies were informed about the course of work on provisions regarding rent adjustments in state-owned apartments. According to officials of the Federal Price Office, these changes—an increase by 100 to 120 percent—should apply to some 2 million apartments with approximately 5 million tenants. The apartments will not be divided into four categories as they have been so far. The rent scale will be completely revised and, in addition to the square meter rate, additional equipment and services offered to the tenants will also be included.

Farmers' Demonstration Held in Prague 14 Mar

LD1503192890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1803 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Give back our land, we want to live! End the restrictions on the farmers! Here we are, the countryside is not dormant! These, and other similar slogans could be seen today above the heads of several hundred private farmers at the head of Wenceslas Square. During the demonstration the farmers demanded first and foremost a complete abolition of Law No. 123 on the use of land, because in their view all the changes and amendments which have hitherto been drafted have little effect. The law is a remnant of the former totalitarian system. The state should not interfere with the rights of citizens.

The changes in taxation measures and the senseless rule that private farmers should retire as late as age 65 were also discussed. A pension of 300 korunas [per month] has been allocated to one of them, after 53 years of work in farming. All these demands were handed to the Federal Assembly as a petition.

New Trade Union Presidium Holds First Session

AU1903085390 Prague PRACE in Czech 14 Mar 90 p 2

["ts"-signed report: "Without Corrupt Managers"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The first session of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions [KOS] was held in the House of Trade Unions in Prague yesterday. Until the conclusion of the second part of the Slovak Trade Union Congress, the Presidium will have the following composition: Igor Pleskot, president of the KOS General Council and chairman of the Federal Trade Union of Metal Workers; Richard Falbr, vice

president of the KOS General Council and chairman of the Czech-Moravian Trade Union of Service Industry Employees; Josef Halaj, chairman of the Federal Trade Union of Water Transport Workers; Igor Lensky, chairman of the Slovak Trade Union of State Bodies' and Organizations' Employees; Ladislav Polka, chairman of the Trade Union of Members of the Public Security Corps in Slovakia; Vladimir Petrus, chairman of the Czech-Moravian Trade Union of Printing Industry Workers; Petr Simerka, chairman of the Federal Trade Union of Czechoslovak People's Army Employees; and Vaclav Vanek, chairman of the Trade Union Association of Railroad Workers. Borivoj Subrt, executive secretary of the Property, Administration, and Delimitation Union, and Ladislav Velensky, press spokesman for the Czechoslovak KOS, have the right to attend Presidium sessions.

The Presidium recommended that delegates of federal trade unions participate in the second part of the Slovak Trade Union Congress, which will be held on 9 and 10 April. On the basis of numerous inquiries addressed to it by primary organizations, it also considered the problem of replacement of compromised management workers. It recommended that primary trade union organizations insist on their replacement, especially when these managers were installed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, involved in corruption affairs, or active in the normalization of the seventies and subsequent years. [passage omitted]

The Presidium discussed the organizational structure of the apparatus of the KOS General Council.

The following specialized departments were newly established: information and analytic department, legislative department, department for the economy, living standards and employment, social policy department, international department, organizational department, personnel department, and the General Council Secretariat, which also comprises the press center.

Social Security for Private Businesses Outlined

AU1403120690 Prague PRACE in Czech 8 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Igor Tomes, deputy minister of labor and social affairs, by Jitka Skaloudova; place and date not given: "The Law and Private Enterprise"—opening paragraph is PRACE introduction]

[Text] For private enterprise to become full-fledged, the necessary legal amendments must be made in the sphere of the labor code and in pension and health insurance. This is why at its first session in March, the federal government approved the relevant draft law on social security amendments. The Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is working on the follow-up executory regulations for this law as well as on a government decree setting out exceptions [for private businesses] in the sphere of the labor law. We discussed these proposed legal amendments with Docent Doctor Igor Tomes, candidate of sciences, deputy minister of labor and social affairs.

[Skaloudova] On which legal norms are you working?

[Tomes] We are working on the draft of a government decree on labor-related legal relations concerning individual enterprise by physical persons, on a draft law changing and amending Law No. 100 of 1988 on Social Security and Law No. 54 of 1956 on Health Insurance, and on the executory regulations for this law.

[Skaloudova] Let us consider labor-related legal relations first. Does the fact that some exceptions to the Labor Code are foreseen mean that employees of private entrepreneurs will have fewer rights than employees of state enterprises?

[Tomes] No, this cannot be said. The main reason why some exceptions to the Labor Code will have to be stipulated for the labor relations between the entrepreneur and his employee is that an entrepreneur employing only a few people—and such employers will form the majority at first—cannot be required to provide a canteen, for example. However, the possibility is being considered of making the employer provide a financial contribution for meals.

[Skaloudova] Do any of these exceptions concern the sphere of wages?

[Tomes] Here, too, the rights of employees will be guaranteed. The draft stipulates that, regardless of the results of entrepreneurial activity, the employees' claim to a minimum wage must be guaranteed. The contract of employment must not provide for earnings below the minimum wage and below the limit set in wage regulations.

[Skaloudova] Has the possibility of collective contracts of employment been considered?

[Tomes] An entrepreneur will be able to conclude them with the relevant trade union body. It needs to be said that, when a trade union organization operates in a private enterprise, it is expected that labor-related legal relations will be governed by the provisions of the Labor Code which regulate the activity of trade unions.

[Skaloudova] And what about pension and health insurance?

[Tomes] The pension and health provisions of self-employed persons and their spouses will be ensured on the basis of an insurance. Self-employed persons will have essentially the same rights as other working people. Let me say in this context that the highly discriminatory level of social security of private farmers and other self-employed persons will be eliminated. According to the prepared draft, the insurance premium will amount to 25 percent of the basis of assessment, which will be determined by the self-employed person himself. However, the basis of assessment must not be lower than 400

korunas a month. The maximum basis of assessment for the purpose of calculating the insurance premium will be 10,000 korunas a month. The category of self-employed persons includes persons operating according to the law on individual enterprise of physical persons, freelance artists, and private farmers. At the same time it needs to be said that the employees of private entrepreneurs will have the same health and pension insurance as all other employees.

Calfa Holds Talks With Finnish Counterpart

LD1603164190 Prague CTK in English 1506 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Helsinki March 16 (CTK correspondent)—The discussions with Finnish Premier Harri Holkeri were useful and showed the possibilities of further cooperation between the two countries, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said at a press conference here today.

The two premiers discussed especially bilateral relations. Their consultations will continue today and tomorrow.

Marian Calfa stressed that the development of the existing traditional contacts in the production of paper and cellulose, in electronics, in the creation of the protection of the environment and of the operation of nuclear power plants are the most significant spheres in bilateral cooperation.

Dealing with the question of unification of the two German states, Marian Calfa said that Czechoslovakia considers this process natural and expects to have in the West a neighbour in a democratic state which is quite an acceptable line.

Answering a question in connection with CEMA he said that this non-governmental organization has the chance now to be changed into quite a different type of organization.

Received by President Koivisto

LD1603213990 Prague CTK in English 1527 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Helsinki March 16 (CTK correspondent)—Mauno Koivisto, president of Finland, received there today Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa.

During their talks, the two representatives concentrated on the issue of bilateral economic cooperation. The cordial atmosphere of their talks showed the will of the two countries to develop further relations on a new basis.

Mauno Koivisto and his guest stressed that of the common European home was attractive for all Czechs, Slovaks and Finns as well. The participation of small nations in its constitution is very important, they said.

Studies Finnish Model

LD1703233190 Prague CTK in English 1406 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Oulu, Finland, March 17 (CTK)—"I personally have the impression that we have made a breakthrough into the Finnish thinking," Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told Czechoslovak journalists at the close of his working stay in Finland here today.

The Czechoslovak premier arrived in Finland on March 15.

"All new forms of cooperation should be legally ensured. Some of them, e.g. the protection of investments, even by international treaties. We want to settle these affairs in Czechoslovakia in the first half of this year. Our government has already submitted or will soon submit corresponding agreements to the parliament," Marian Calfa said, adding that the visit was extraordinarily successful.

"During the talks especially with President Mauno Koivisto and Premier Harri Holkeri we felt that we have clear common ideas about how to build economy, how to understand a socially just state, i.e. issues which are already known in Finland and the solution of which Czechoslovakia will face," the Czechoslovak premier said.

Promotes Finnish Investment

LD1703234290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa has returned to Prague following his working visit to Finland. During his journey back our special correspondent, Viliam Roth, talked to him aboard the aircraft about his impressions and the results of the visit. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Roth] We encountered in Finland an atmosphere of open sympathies, goodwill, and understanding for our development. Despite this you pointed out to your hosts that the reserve exhibited in business circles, a reserve in intensifying our relations as we desire and envision, does not correspondent to this situation. Has your visit made a breakthrough in this respect and will it speed things up?

[Calfa] I do not see the words—sympathies and reserve—as opposites. In any case we have received a number of signals which justify us in reaching a conclusion that Finnish businessmen are, in comparison with businessmen from other advanced countries, less active and therefore more reserved.

During our visit we gave a picture to our Finnish hosts of the economic model we plan to follow in Czechoslovakia. We explained what changes we are preparing in economic legislature, which are truly substantial. The Finnish businessmen and commercial and financial circles reacted to this information with considerable interest. Thus, we did our utmost to explain to the

Finnish side that their greater activity in Czechoslovakia is possible, desirable, and indeed expected.

Finnish businessmen have had up to now a rather old-fashioned notion of mutual relations—that is, that they sell and we buy. We would rather like them to invest in Czechoslovakia, put capital into our country, form joint enterprises, or engage in joint cooperation in various production branches—and there are a number of branches in which we would be interested in such cooperation. In short, that we conduct ourselves in mutual relations in the new economic conditions using new and more modern methods. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Slovak Nationalists Fall Out With VPN

AU1503150290 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 12 Mar 90 pp 2,3

[Statement by the Coordinating Center of the Stur Society, published in the "SMENA Service" column: "Position of the Stur Society"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The Stur Society was formed as a nonpolitical and nonreligious interest group at the beginning of last year, at the time when the totalitarian regime was struggling in agony and was clinging to its usurped power like a barnacle. Therefore, it logically followed that the regime's interests could not coincide with ours. Hence, the appropriate communist-ruled bodies controlled our activities, even rendered them impossible.

We welcomed 17 November as a liberation from this pressure and we subscribed to the noble goals represented in Slovakia by the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement at the first meeting which took place in Hviezdoslav Square. We expressed our support by attaching our signatures to the VPN statement during 19 to 21 November 1989 as well as by our own statements to the press. We appreciate the work done by the VPN in November and December when their representatives appeared on the platforms and we shouted popular slogans like "Unity is power!" or "That's it!"

As in every movement, in time, a certain shift occurred. In the pursuit of democracy the VPN unfortunately neglected the unsolved problem of national awakening. [passage omitted]

We are disappointed that the VPN Coordinating Committee did not consider the need to develop national consciousness to be crucial, and that it was rather indifferent to some claims and provocative demands and deeds by some extremist groups and individuals as, for instance, the expropriation of buildings, schools, wanton renaming of streets and communities, and refusal to conduct official business or prescribe medication in Slovak in the mixed areas of southern Slovakia. After all, every sovereign state must protect its supremacy against such deeds. That applies to a democratic state as well. Since the Slovaks, above all in southern Slovakia, could not find protection in the VPN or in other movements (as testified to by their memorandum adopted at Surany on 3 March 1990), we took up these problems to enable them to at least testify about their hardships and to provide an outlet, at last, for complaints by Slovaks in Slovakia. Unfortunately, the VPN journal, VEREJNOST, assumed a position in defense of the attitude of our Hungarian fellow citizens, who enjoy such rights here as could hardly be matched by any minority in Europe or in the world.

This is where our paths part. It is not a fundamental disagreement, as far as the rejection of totalitarian communist rule is concerned, but it is a difference of opinion regarding the way out of totalitarianism. We believe that nothing can be bypassed. We regard our unconfirmed right to Slovak national consciousness and education here in Czecho-Slovakia to be a principal condition for the further successful development of our Slovak nation. [passage omitted]

We do not consider the VPN's course of action with respect to pushing through their candidate for the post of the chairman of the Slovak National Council to have been quite correct. The VPN did not publicly explain its motives or its position after it decided that it would fill the highest post in the Slovak National Council with its representative. Thereby, it separated itself from the rest of us. The citizens then retrospectively approved its approach at the rally on 6 March. We, however, cannot trust such a course of action—such decisions were made in the past—and nobody can reproach us for this. Discredited people must be exposed before the public; however, one needs evidence against them. Recalling a person who in his function did not commit any errors seems unfair to us. All the more so as this person [Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council] worked, on the soil of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation, toward a solution to ethnic problems in Slovakia. [passage omitted] It is unfortunate that our attitude [support for Rudolf Schuster] caused some people to believe that we "ganged up" with communists. We are not joining forces with anybody, we are not communists, and we are not going to vote for communists in the elections. We cannot rule out, however, the possibility of some questionable elements jumping on the bandwagon, elements who would like to exploit the nationally motivated processes taking place in society for their evil intentions. We assure everyone that it is of utmost importance for us to expose such elements and make their entry into our ranks impossible.

We believe that this statement of ours will dispel all doubts and will be instructive and beneficial for both sides.

Dated, Bratislava, 7 March 1990.

New Slovak Daily To Be Launched 1 May

LD1603142390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Cooperation and technical assistance in setting up branch offices of NATIONAL REVIVAL [NARODNA OBRODA], an independent daily newspaper for the people of Slovakia, which is to start coming out soon, was discussed today in Kosice and Presov by Jan Comaj, the director of the press and information department of the Slovak Government, and (Dusan Klinger), the chief editor of VYCHOD. The newspaper's editorial offices promised assistance to the government daily NATIONAL REVIVAL which is to start publication on 1 May this year in Bratislava. It will be 16-pages long.

Slovak Government Discusses Political Funding

LD1603202990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Report by editor Magda Pospisilova on Slovak government session on 14 March; place not given]

[Summary] This morning the government discussed a proposal for Slovak government measures on interethnic relations.

"The draft is based on the conclusions of the working meeting of the government in Komarno last Monday and contains many political, legislative, economic, cultural and educational issues. The letter from Matyas Szuros, provisional president of the Hungarian Republic to our president, was also discussed. In the letter he asked for paying more attention to dealing with ethnic relations between the Slovak people and the Hungarian minority. The contents of the letter, and also talks with Czech Premier Pithart in Budapest, created some concern among the Slovak public. Many citizens phoned directly the office of the Slovak government."

The second point on the agenda of the Slovak government session was a draft proposal on the principles of financing political parties and movements, mass organizations, associations, and clubs. It was put forward at today's session by Michal Kovac, minister of finances, prices, and wages of the Slovak republic who will now be interviewed.

[Pospisilova] "Minister, the proposals of your ministry about providing grants from the state budget created a spontaneous negative public reaction recently. To describe your proposal:

"It envisaged granting 40-45 million korunas to the Public against Violence, 20-25 million korunas to Christian-Democratic movements. The remaining 10-20 million korunas were to be used for the other 20 political parties and 28 mass organizations. Some people have found this distribution rather wild. Have you put this proposal forward or have you changed it?

[Kovac] "I put forward a slightly amended proposal. However, I must say that the information in the press is not exact and describes only one-half of the problem. The problem of financing political parties has two sides: to make sure that all parties go into the election with a uniform financial, material-technical, and organizational base. The second side is the funding of the election campaign itself.

[Pospisilova] "Can you quote a specific example? Have you agreed on anything at the governmental session?"

[Kovac] "We have not agreed on specific numbers because it was not really necessary to agree on them. The important thing is to agree on the criteria.

[Pospisilova] "Does this mean that the information in our press was not true?

[Kovac] "Yes, it means it was not true.

[Pospisilova] "Could you inform our listeners about the criteria?.

[Kovac] "My proposal is changed to the effect that it does not deal with the question of how to make the situation of each party uniform. At the moment the Communist Party of Slovakia is much better off and this is a disadvantage for the other newly founded parties. We left this problem open and we discussed the criteria of funding the election campaign. We set the same criteria and same opportunities for all parties. Naturally, the government was not happy about this proposal. Many government members objected that it was not just that one party went into the elections with such an advantage with regard to its point of departure as the Communist Party.

[Pospisilova] "When will these issues be finally solved?

[Kovac] "The government adopted a resolution that it will put forward at the next session of the government a more exact proposal according to the comments which were made at today's session. This means that we shall adopt a definite solution at the next session of the government and all political parties will be informed about this solution and also about the prepared material, and we shall try to discuss with them our amended proposals."

Slovak National Council Session Reviewed

LD1703102390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] No doubt many of our listeners heard our live relay of the session of the Slovak National Council. For those who were unable to do so, however, our editor Alica Bielikova will now summarize the most important points.

[Bielikova] Let me start with a few words about the general atmosphere. At the press center and in the corridors I heard this view: We finally have a parliament

comme il faut [previous three words in French], in other words, as it should be. They were referring to the openness of views and ideas, to the sharply expressed arguments and counter-arguments, and to the criticism of their own ranks. Leaving aside the certain lack of experience which is still manifest in some deputies as well as, at times, a lack of political refinement and the tendency to indulge in personal backbiting rather than deal with the affairs of society, I am inclined to agree with the contention that we finally have a true parliament.

To move on to the day's business now, the 23d meeting was preceded by a session of the Slovak National Council Presidium conducted by Rudolf Schuster. Also in attendance was Premier Milan Cic. It discussed the situation in the Corrective Training Institution in Leopoldov, and recommended that the government take measures to amend the paragraphs of the Penal Code covering the concept of recidivism, and also to step up public supervision of the conditions in which imprisonment sentences are served. The Presidium also discussed measures to deal with the economic consequences of tourism, progress on drawing up the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, and other matters.

Then the 23d meeting of the Slovak National Council got under way with the deputies submitting questions to government members, and this was followed by discussion of constitutional bills on the number of Slovak National Council deputies, on the wording of the oath taken by deputies of the National Committee, the Slovak National Council and members of the government, and on the term of office of the Slovak National Council. The bill proposing that the Slovak National Council should have 150 deputies, and that the term of office of the Slovak National Council to be elected in the 1990 elections should last 24 months was passed by the deputies.

The next item on the agenda was the bill on the elections to the Slovak National Council, and this, too, was passed by the deputies.

As those of you who heard the live relay will know, interesting answers were given by the members of the government to the deputies' questions about the timetable for the departure of Soviet troops, ethnic policy in the light of the letter sent by the Hungarian president to our president [asking him to guarantee the rights of the Hungarian minority], the number of Czechoslovak Communist Party members in senior posts in schools, the speeches by Mr. Vladimir Meciar [Slovak minister of the interior] and Mr. Jan Budaj [deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council and Public Against Violence official] at a meeting in Bratislava, and so on. The concluding political debate was also an exceptional and exciting item on the agenda.

After the 23d meeting of the Slovak National Council, its Presidium met once again to promulgate the laws passed. According to the law as promulgated, the elections to the Slovak National Council will take place on 8 and 9 June 1990.

New Slovak Peace Movement Holds Assembly

LD1803070290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Some 138 supporters of a new peace movement for the whole of Slovakia has convened in the House of Culture in the Dubravka district of Bratislava today. This constituent assembly has the task of founding a new Slovak peace organization to supersede the Slovak Peace Council. The provisional name proposed for the organization is the Slovak Union for Peace and Human Rights [slovenska unia pre mier a ludske prava]. At the moment the assembly is continuing its discussion on the new content and orientation of the Slovak peace movement.

Slovak National Front Adds 14 Parties

AU1903085590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Mar 90 p 1

[Martin Krno article: "Platform of Democratic Forces: Session of the Central Committee of the Slovak Republic National Front"]

[Excerpts] "Our concept of the National Front is that of a common political platform, of an association of all democratic forces of society seeking the development of our republic, sharing in the formulation of policy and in the administration of the state, and unifying, in a democratic way, people's diverse interests and needs," Anton Tazky, chairman of the Central Committee of the Slovak Republic National Front, said at its meeting yesterday.

The National Front associates 72 organizations at present. This number includes the 14 political parties and 28 social organizations that were unanimously admitted to the Slovak Republic National Front 13 March. In the new social conditions, the National Front will be guided by the principles of openness, equality, collective membership, independence, and democratic consensus. Representatives of several newly admitted associations familiarized those present with their programmatic targets. [passage omitted] The newly admitted parties, in particular, condemned provisions which restrict their participation in the elections. They were seconded by representatives of social organizations, who demanded that their participation be considered at least in the elections to national committees. [passage omitted]

The participants spontaneously rejected the proposal of the ministry of finance that 40 to 45 million of the 80 million korunas earmarked for political parties and movements in Slovakia be allocated to the Public Against Violence movement and 20 to 25 million to the Christian Democratic Movement. [passage omitted] Maria Kolarikova, minister of the Slovak Republic Government, assured those present that the financing of

poitical parties and social organizations will soon be the subject of roundtable negotiations among all interested parties.

The meeting expressed support for the Government of National Understanding and endorsed its decision to publish the daily NARODNA OBRODA [National Renewal] as an independent press organ of the citizens of Slovakia.

Slovak Movement Stresses National 'Understanding'

AU1903085790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Mar 90 p 4

["Excerpts" of the Declaration of Intent of the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding]

[Excerpts] In view of the fact that, so far, no political movement from the broad spectrum of Slovak political movements that are taking shape at present unequivocally endorses the idea of a mutually beneficial Czech-Slovak association, we have decided to form the Preparatory Committee of the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding [Hnutie ceskoslovenskeho porozumenia], which intends to operate on the entire territory of Czechoslovakia. We use as our point of departure the positive traditions of the first movement of resistance [against the Hapsburg empire] led by T.G. Masaryk and M.R. Stefanik as well as the legacy of the national liberation struggle against fascism. [passage omitted]

We regard as our exceptionally important task waging an energetic struggle against all manifestations of nationalism, racism, antisemitism, but also Czechoslovakism and Slovak separatism.

We ask all citizens who endorse the ideas of the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding to contribute, by their signatures, to its registration and participation in the elections.

[signed] Vlado Cech, doctor of natural sciences, No. 5 Vansova Street, 811 03 Bratislava

CPSL Holds News Conference; Bilak Active

AU1603131590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Mar 90 p 3

[Gejza Vilcek report: "We Are Against Extremists"]

[Text] Bratislava—A news conference was held in the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee building 7 March. It was attended by a large number of journalists. Peter Weiss, chairman of the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee, declared, among other things, that we are unequivocally opposed to extremism in our own party and that we expect a similar stance from others.

P. Weiss gave a detailed report on events at the last Slovak National Council [SNR] session. Neither the Communist Party nor the Club of Communist Deputies in the SNR put R. Schuster, SNR chairman, under any pressure to remain in his post. R. Schuster himself has declared that he did not allow himself to be ordered about. His decision was made following a private conversation with J. Budaj after which he intended to give up his post. He did not do so in the form of a resignation in order not to cast a shadow over the quality of his work. Neither the SNR Presidium nor its deputies could see any reason for recalling him. J. Budaj himself was striving to be nominated to the post of SNR chairman, he organized his nomination, and even requested support from Communist deputies. "This is a new phenomenon in our political culture, and one which is not to its benefit," said P. Weiss.

In reply to a question from M. Krno, a PRAVDA editor, on whether efforts are also being made to change personnel in the Slovak Government, P. Weiss said that the government is working intensively, responsibly, and publicly, but the attacks on it had already started prior to the submission of its report on the state of the republic. According to a public opinion poll, M. Cic is the most popular Slovak politician and is well equipped to execute his office.

In reply to another question, P. Weiss said that since the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement already has articles and a membership it can no longer act on behalf of all nonparty members. The CPSL and VPN had agreed that they would both withdraw from workplaces. The VPN session, however, decided to maintain a certain controlling position in this movement.

We received an unequivocal response to our question on the background to nationalistic phenomena. The party has always proceeded, and is still proceeding, against nationalism. The situation which has arisen in connection with this is not associated with the parties. Nationalism is a very easy way for various groups to assert their short-term aims. The CPSL supports the point of view which the government presented at its Komarno session.

Later, P. Weiss stated that prior to the elections it will be difficult to form a coalition with other left-wing parties because some of them want to gain political capital out of anticommunism. He condemned the spurious documents which, in the party's name, appeal to extremists. He said that V. Bilak is politically active in East Slovakia and that it would be best if these groups formed their own party.

Party Leader To Resign Over Fraud Charges

AU1803215290

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 March, on page 5, carries a 1,500-word article by Vaclav Pergl entitled "Fraud." The article discusses an incident involving Milan Taraba, chairman of the preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, a "new left-wing party," who "fraudulently obtained" signatures for a petition in support of the party's founding (under the recently passed law on

political parties, every new political party requires the signatures of at least 1,000 supporters to be registered). Paral's article is based on a letter sent to RUDE PRAVO by 18 persons from Liberec, Taraba's place of residence. In their letter, the signatories charge that, while collecting signatures for a document related to his function as chairman of a housing cooperative in Liberec, Taraba was also soliciting signatures for a petition in support of his party, without revealing the nature of this document. Confronted by Paral with the charge, Taraba deplores his action and says that he has apologized to the persons concerned and has destroyed the relevant sheets. He explains that his party does not need the signatures from Liberec because it has collected over 1,300 signatures in Prague alone. Asked whether he would "draw any conclusions" from the fact that he has "done damage to his party," Taraba says that he will resign from his party post.

Resignation Denied by Democratic Forum

AU1803220090

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 15 March on page 2 carries a 300-word statement by Milan Marsalek, press spokesman for the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum [CSDF], entitled "Fraud—Who Cheats?" The statement responds to a 5 March, 1500-word, page 5 RUDE PRAVO article by Vaclav Pergl entitled "Fraud," which it qualifies as "an attack on the CSDF and all other new initiatives seeking a democratic development in Czechoslovakia" and as "an attempt to disorient the public and, in particular, new CSDF members." In Marsalek's view, the purpose of the RUDE PRAVO article was to "discredit all current signature-gathering campaigns" and to prevent citizens who have not been politically active so far or who have left the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from "creating new political structures." Without responding to the specific charges raised in the RUDE PRAVO article, Marsalek asserts that it "contains evident untruths" and expresses the CSDF's readiness to "provide any information medium with details on RUDE PRAVO's malicious accusation." Marsalek also asserts that, contrary to RUDE PRAVO's claim, "Engineer Milan Taraba is not resigning from the post of chairman of the CSDF Preparatory Committee."

TV Editors Fired Due to Past Association

AU1603131390 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 9 Mar 90 p 1

["tep"-signed report: "Who Will Replace Whom; On Problems in the Television News Department"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Petr Krul, chief editor of the Television News Department, discussed the department's present problems at a meeting with journalists yesterday. He said that the department's biggest problem was personnel changes in the team of editors and moderators. Determining who should belong to the screen and who should not is really an arduous task. The situation at present is such that the employment contract has been canceled with 18 of the department's 80 editors. The departing journalists are those who were too closely associated with the old regime. Competent professionals, however, are also leaving, and it will not be easy to find a replacement for them. [passage omitted]

The proportion of Czech to Slovak moderators on television news will be two to one, which means that for two-thirds of the year we will be supplied with information in Czech and for one-third of the year in Slovak.

Security Corps Training Foreign Policemen

AU1503152490 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 14 Mar 90 p 1

[CTK report: "Terrorists Are Not Trained in Zastavka"]

[Text] Students from 16 countries of Asia, Africa, and Central America have been pursuing their basic or post-graduate studies in security at the Foreign Studies Institute of the Advanced School of the National Security Corps in Zastavka near Brno for seven years now. Since the only Europeans who attended the course were from Hungary, the rumor that Ceausescu's Securitate were trained here is untrue.

Yesterday, Lieutenant Colonel Dr. Pavel Zloch, candidate of sciences, director of the institute, told journalists in Zastavka that the rumors of foreign terrorists being trained here have no foundation. On the basis of interstate agreements, about a hundred policemen from Nicaragua, Angola, Congo, and Cambodia are learning here at present, for instance how to manage traffic direction personnel, how to lead and command, how to manage administrative affairs, police photography, use helicopters in investigation, police weapon shooting, etc.

At present, the institute has vacancies for the training of several hundred students. This is because advanced education was suspended and the department of Secret Security Service was closed. In reply to a question about financing the foreign policemen's studies, raised by a CTK correspondent, director Zloch said that it is a matter of nongovernment contracts. Some countries cover all the expenses, other countries follow reciprocal agreements with Czechoslovakia.

The testimony of the students from Seychelles, that one year in Zastavka near Brno prepared them for practical work better than a three-year course at an English police school, is only one of the indications of the high standard of the methods of Czechoslovak criminology.

Socialist Party Congress Opens in Prague

LD1603155590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] The 24th congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party opened at Prague's Palace of Culture today. Jan Skoda, chairman of the party, welcomed some 500

delegates representing approximately 20,000 members of the party. Also present are a number of foreign and local guests.

Rules Out Communist Coalition

LD1803095190 Prague CTK in English 1534 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 17 (CTK)—The elections in Czechoslovakia this June will not yet be democratic in the correct sense of the word. It would be kind of a referendum and only the next elections will show which is the most significant force in this society, newly elected chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Jiri Vyvadil told journalists at an improvised briefing here today during the second day of the congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

Dealing with the preelection campaign he said that the party will certainly form a coalition with another political party or movement but in no case with the communists. "I am a sincere humanist and democrat but think that the communist party has no moral right to express opinions on anything. Our party will strive for its human dissolution," he said.

Party Chairman Promotes Active Media

LD1803124690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GM 17 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The 24th congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party is continuing in Prague. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon the delegates elected a new central committee, auditing commission, and party court, and tomorrow these central organs will meet at their constituent meetings. We have selected the following from an interview by Vaclav Klement with Jiri Vyvadil, the new chairman of the party. [passage omitted]

[Begin Vyvadil recording] I would like to say that not only will we clearly define our relations with individual political forces but we will also clearly state our demands—not in some hectic, dramatic way, but clearly, calmly, and resolutely. I will give you an example. We are very unhappy about the way attention is given to other political parties in radio, in Czechoslovak television. There is constant talk about a pluralist democracy but even the leadership of these media, for example, should learn from the West; they should learn that if anything is happening, for example in West Germany, reporters run after the heads of individual political parties and want to know their viewpoints. In our country the head of a political party almost has to beg to make a statement somewhere. I think this situation will have to be dealt with. Personally I would like to say that if a marked change does not take place—and I will probably be asking the government to take up a proposal on this in some way—after the elections we will be demanding that both radio and television are subordinated to parliament. [end recording]

Political Parties, Organizations Meet 10-11 Mar

AU1603171790

[Editorial Report] Czechoslovak newspapers of 12 March report on the congresses or assemblies of several political parties and other organizations held on Saturday, 10 March, and Sunday, 11 March.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 March, on pages 2, 11, and 12, publishes 100-to-600-word CTK or correspondents' reports on the constituent meetings or congresses of the following organizations:

Democratic Union of Romanies Party [Strana demokratickej unie Romov]. The founding congress of this "political party whose main political aim is to ensure a dignified life for Romanies in a socially equitable society," was held in Bratislava on 10 March. According to the Bratislava PRAVDA report, the delegates approved a policy statement in which they called for unification with the Party for the Integration of Romanies [Strana integracie Romov]; approved the party's statutes; and elected Igor Kmeta as party chairman. (A Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY report on the founding congress of the Democratic Union of Romanies Party, published on 12 March on page 2, notes that the party has "almost 9,000 members.")

CSEMADOK, the Hungarian People in Czechoslovakia Cultural Union, whose two-day "extraordinary general assembly" ended in Bratislava on 10 March. As the Bratislava PRAVDA report notes, "the participants in the assembly decided to change the organization's name to Democratic Union of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia [Demokraticky zvaz Madarov v Ceskoslovensku]—CSEMADOK. Rezso Szabo and Laszlo Dobos became honorary chairmen and Zoltan Sido was reelected as executive chairman." The organization's policy statement declares CSEMADOK to be a "social organization focusing primarily on cultural, educational, and amateur artistic activity, legal and linguistic education, and work with literature."

The Union of Slovak Architects. The union's assembly, held in Bratislava on 10 March, decided to terminate the union's activity and set up the Architects' Association of Slovakia [Spolok architektov Slovenska] as its follow-up organization. Stefan Slachta was elected chairman of the new organization.

The Slovak Union for Cooperation With the Army [Slovensky Zvazarm], whose "extraordinary congress" was held in Banska Bystrica on 10 March. The delegates agreed that the Slovak Union for Cooperation With the Army would be renamed effective 30 June 1990; its new name will be Technical Activities and Sports Association in Slovakia [Zdruzenie technickych a sportovych cinnosti na Slovensku]. Colonel Jan Kovac was elected chairman of the organization.

The Slovak organization of the Czechoslovak Physical Education Association [CSTV], which held its "extraordinary congress" in Bratislava on 11 March. The organization terminated its activity and established the Slovak Physical Culture Association [Slovenske zdruzenie telesnej kultury] (SZTK) as a new umbrella sports organization for Slovakia. The SZTK is made up of two chambers, each of which delegates 12 members to the 24-member SZTK Executive Committee. The congress elected Stefan Gasparik as SZTK chairman and Anton Ihring, Stefan Zak, and Dalimir Kubala as SZTK deputy chairmen. It also proposed that the extraordinary CSTV congress scheduled for 25 March terminate the CSTV's activity.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 March on page 7 carries a 700-word "mij"-signed report on the "extraordinary congress" of the Czech CSTV organization, which was held in Prague on 10 March. The congress approved the organization's dissolution and the establishment of the Czech Physical Education Union [Cesky svaz telesne vychovy]. Vladimir Srb was elected chairman of the new organization and Z. Domansky and J. Epstein its deputy chairmen.

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 12 March, on page 1, carries a 250-word "tos"-signed report on the congress of the Czechoslovak Republican Agrarian Party of Towns and the Countryside [Ceskoslovenska republikanska strana zemedelska mest a venkova], which was held in Prague. The report notes that the party, whose "main aim is support for the interests of private farmers and for the private ownership of land," will run on the Civic Forum list of candidates in this year's parliamentary elections. M. Vanura was elected party chairman.

On the same day, on page 2, ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY carries a 400-word "dap"-signed report on the "extraordinary congress" of the Czech Women's Union, which was held in Prague on 10 March. The congress decided to retain the organization's present name and reelected Hana Lagova as its chairwoman. It also recommended the abolition of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Women's Union and the creation of a "coordinating group of women's organizations and initiatives from the Czech and Slovak Republics" in its stead. The congress delegates "expressed support for the Movement for the Equal Position of Women in Bohemia and Moravia [Hnuti za rovnopravne postaveni zen v Cechach a na Morave], through which women want to take part in this year's elections."

'Left Alternative' Movement Founded

LD1803095490 Prague CTK in English 1600 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 17 (CTK)—A movement for democratic and autonomous socialism called Left Alternative was founded here today.

Its members and supporters, including representatives of the Czechoslovak Anarchist Association, approved at their first session the rules according to which the Left Alternative is an open political movement associating people who are interested in searching and asserting various forms of autonomy and direct democracy. Its members can be left-wing oriented citizens.

The Left Alternative, which is an integral part of the Civic Forum, has no aims of political parties. It wants to strive for a consistent democratic functioning of the emerging political structures. Its aim is also to prevent the creation of a non-democratic political system by the elections.

This movement was created in November 1989.

Provisional Overall Election Results Noted

LD1903020890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0117 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Provisional final results of the elections to the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic on 18 March 1990:

	Votes	Percent
Entitled to vote	12,377,372	
Votes cast	11,538,313	
Turnout		93.22
Valid votes	11,475,353	99.45
Invalid votes	62,960	0.55
The valid votes were cast as follows:		
List		
1. Action Alliance United Left (The Carnations, United Left)	20,180	0.18
2. Alternative Youth List (German Youth Party, Marxist Youth Association, Green Youth, FDJ)	14,573	0.13
3. Alliance '90 (New Forum, Democracy Now, Peace and Human Rights Initiative)	333,005	2.90
4. League of Free Democrats (German Forum Party, LDP, FDP)	606,283	5.28
5. Federation of Socialist Workers	374	0.00
6. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	4,694,636	40.91
7. Christian League	10,699	0.09
8. Democratic Farmers' Party (DBD)	250,943	2.19
9. Democratic Awakening	105,251	0.92
10. Democratic Women's League (DFD)	38,088	0.33
11. German Beer Drinkers' Union	2,534	0.02
12. German Social Union (DSU)	724,760	6.32
13. Unity Now	2,356	0.02
14. European Federalist Party	3,690	0.03
15. European Union of the GDR	—	—
16. Greens (Green Party & Independent Women's Union)	225,234	1.96
17. KPD (Communist Party)	8,836	0.08
18. National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD)	44,435	0.39
19. Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)	1,873,666	16.33
20. Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)	2,506,151	21.84
21. Spartacist Workers' Party (SpAD)	2,396	0.02
22. Independent Social Democratic Party	3,891	0.03
23. Independent People's Party	2,999	0.03
24. Association of Working Circles for Employees and Democracy	373	0.00

Probable Distribution of People's Chamber Seats

LD1903022890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0121 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Probable distribution of seats to the People's Chamber:

List	Seats
1. Action Alliance United Left (The Carnations United Left)	1
2. Alternative Youth Left (German Youth Party, Marxist Youth Association, Green Youth, FDJ)	1
3. Alliance '90 (New Forum, Democracy Now, Peace and Human Rights Initiative)	12
4. League of Free Democrats (German Forum Party, LDP, FDP)	21
5. Federation of Socialist Workers	0
6. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	164
7. Christian League	0
8. Democratic Farmers' Party (DBD)	9
9. Democratic Awakening	4
10. Democratic Women's League (DFD)	1
11. German Beer Drinkers' Union	0
12. German Social Union (DSU)	25
13. Unity Now	0
14. European Federalist Party	0
15. European Union of the GDR	0
16. Greens (Green Party & Independent Women's Union)	8
17. KPD (Communist Party)	0
18. National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD)	2
19. Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)	65
20. Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)	87
21. Spartacist Workers' Party (SpAD)	0
22. Independent Social Democratic Party	0
23. Independent People's Party	0
24. Association of Working Circles for Employees and Democracy	0

Conservatives Narrowly Miss Overall Majority

LD1903023790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0139 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The conservative election Alliance for Germany just missed an absolute majority. According to the provisional final results, which were published almost two hours later than expected early on Monday morning, the three parties Christian Democratic Union [CDU], German Social Union [DSU], and Democratic Awakening [DA] gained 48.12 percent of the votes and thus the Alliance wins 193 seats.

In detail, the CDU gained 40.91 (164 seats), the DSU 6.32 (25 seats), and the DA 0.92 (4 seats). The Social

Democrats won 21.84 percent (87 seats), the Party for Democratic Socialism PDS 16.33 percent (65 seats), and the League of Free Democrats 5.28 percent (21 seats).

At 93.22 percent, the turnout was much higher than expected. In all more than 11.5 million of the 12.37 million eligible to vote went to the polls. Just 0.55 percent of the votes were invalid.

CDU's De Maiziere on Alliance With Liberals

LD1903100390 Hamburg DPA in German 0403 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—After his party's outstanding election victory GDR CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere will strive for a government alliance with the Liberals. De Maiziere told the Cologne EXPRESS that the CDU and its two partners in the Alliance for Germany desire a broad-based coalition. But he added, "the question is certainly raised as to whether this has to be with the SPD [Social Democratic Party]. First of all I assume that we will enter an alliance with the Liberals." It was shown in the election campaign that the position of the Liberals and the Alliance "are very close to each other."

In reply to the question as to whether he would be the new GDR premier, De Maiziere referred to the meeting of the Alliance partners today, as well as to the CDU Presidium session set for tomorrow. "Then the decision will be made."

The CDU chairman emphasized his party's desire to introduce the Deutsche mark in the GDR "long before the summer break, perhaps already in June." The former West Berlin economics senator Elmar Pieroth (CDU) is to be the future minister of economy of a CDU-led GDR government. De Maiziere said that Pieroth was "the best team member" for the introduction of social market economy in the GDR.

De Maiziere: Wall Down 'As Soon As Possible'

AU1903124290 Paris AFP in English 1224 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin, March 19 (AFP)—The East German conservative parties, the winners of the country's first democratic elections, want to pull down the Berlin Wall "as soon as possible" and move quickly to unifying Germany, their leader, Lothar de Maiziere, said here Monday.

Mr. de Maiziere also said the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the centrist Federation of Free Democrats had been officially invited to open talks with the conservatives with a view to setting up a coalition.

Mr. de Maiziere is president of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) which leads the three-party Alliance for Germany that took nearly half the seats in Sunday's poll, and is expected to become East Germany's first democratically-elected prime minister.

CDU Advocates Currency Union Before Summer

AU1903124890 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] of the GDR has offered a government coalition to the Social Democrats [SPD] and the Liberals. CDU Secretary General Kirchner stated in East Berlin today that the first measure of the future government should be a currency union with the FRG. It should be implemented before the parliamentary summer break.

Before that, the GDR Social Democrats voiced objections against their participation in a government led by the Christian Democrats. Before the beginning of the party's executive committee session in East Berlin, SPD Manager Hilsberg stressed that a coalition would be out of the question for the Social Democrats if the German Social Union were to participate.

SPD Presidium Meets To Discuss Election Defeat

LD1903111390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0826 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] met this morning in Berlin to analyze the causes of its election defeat yesterday. The SPD press office said in reply to an inquiry from ADN that afterwards the party executive would also draw preliminary conclusions from the outcome of the first free, democratic elections in the GDR. It was thought that the discussions would last into the evening. A press briefing has been announced for the early afternoon.

SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme said yesterday that the possibilities of a grand coalition would be discussed. Other members of the party executive had spoken of forming a strong opposition that wished to pursue social questions and European stability.

Parties Meet in East Berlin To Discuss Elections

LD1903114590 Hamburg DPA in German 0744 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—This morning in East Berlin the top people in the parties have met to discuss the outcome of the People's Chamber elections. At the focal point here are considerations for a future government coalition led by the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], which became the strongest party by far with almost 41 percent of the vote.

In radio interviews, their chairman Lothar de Maiziere emphasized his intention of conducting coalition talks with the SPD [Social Democratic Party] (21.8 percent) and the liberal League of Free Democrats (5.3 percent). He referred to the fact that for the now necessary changes to the Constitution, a two-thirds majority is needed in the People's Chamber. This afternoon he intends to speak to the press in East Berlin with the chairmen of the

two other parties of the Alliance for Germany—the German Social Union (6.3 percent) and Democratic Awakening (0.9 percent)— about the next steps.

For the moment, the SPD intends to let the Alliance "come to us." Because the Social Democrats would be needed for changes to the Constitution they would not have "the worst position," SPD business manager Stephan Hilsberg said on RIAS [Radio in the American Sector]. However, it is faced with the problem of either going with the Alliance into an unloved coalition, or having an equally undesired partner in the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] in opposition. SDP Chairman Ibrahim Boehme said that he would not take on any ministerial office in the new government. The SPD leadership, too, will also face the press after its executive session.

For the moment, De Maiziere did not wish to comment on the question as to whether he was available to be the future GDR Government head. But he emphasized the intention of proposing former West Berlin economics senator Elmar Pieroth (CDU) as minister of economy. The GDR now needs a politician in this post "who has a first rate knowledge of market economy," de Maiziere said on Sender Freies Berlin [Radio Free Berlin].

SPD Rules Out Coalition With PDS, DSU

LD1903134890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1329 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin ADN—The SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] of the GDR will not enter into a coalition with the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] or the DSU [German Social Union] Party. Chairman Ibrahim Boehme confirmed this at a press conference in Berlin this afternoon. At its session today, the SPD Party Executive recommended that participation in a government led by the Alliance for Germany be rejected. Boehme interpreted the election result as saying that the parties of the Alliance had received from the voters a clear mandate to form a government. The democratic rules of the game and the responsibility for our country demand that information talks be conducted with all the forces involved in the political process, Ibrahim Boehme said.

Election Day Activities, Polls Reported

Polling Stations Open

LD1803081190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0600 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Excerpts] (ADN)—The polling stations opened punctually at 0700 [local time] across the country in the approximately 22,000 wards in the first free elections in the GDR. They will be open until 1800. Afterward, the votes will be publicly counted by electoral executives.

Some polling stations opened at 0500 in order to give citizens the right to vote after the night, or before the early, shift. [passage omitted providing background]

The provisional final results announced by the chairwoman of the GDR's Electoral Commission can be expected at around midnight. The official final result will follow on Friday [23 March].

USSR, Czech Polling Stations Open

LD1803084890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0650 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Moscow (ADN-Correspondent)—The polling stations in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, and Kiev have been open since 0900 local time for GDR citizens working there. A total of about 8,000 GDR citizens working in the Soviet Union, including specialists on the gas pipeline construction sites, students, diplomats, and business people as well as their families, applied to be given ballot papers. About 2,700 voters are expected in the two Moscow voting areas.

Prague (ADN-Correspondent)—Voting for about 240 diplomats, people engaged in foreign trade, and other GDR citizens working in Prague is possible today in the GDR cultural and information centre in Narodni Trida Street. [passage omitted on background]

The polling station opened at 0700 and is prepared for a possible flood of GDR citizens on vacation or taking health cures who, by presenting the relevant documents, wish to make use of their right to vote.

Anonymous Bomb Threats in Leipzig

LD1803081390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0750 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Yesterday there were two anonymous bomb threats in Leipzig and Delitzsch. The two callers announced there would be attacks on several polling stations, but they did not say which. In reply to an inquiry from ADN, the Leipzig People's Police said that all 1,637 places to cast votes in the area (bezirk] had been examined thereupon without finding anything.

Social Union's Ebeling Votes

LD1803085290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0829 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The whirr of cameras and the explosion of flash bulbs greeted German Social Union leader Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling this morning at the polling station in the information centre on Leipzig's Sachsenplatz. After casting his vote he pointedly referred to the rules for the work of the media today, such as on the 100 meter exclusion zone for journalists.

On the square in the city's center, which was bathed in sunlight, he said into the microphone that it was a happy feeling to be able to tell the citizens: For the first time in your lives you can decide something for yourselves

without instructions from above. "I think that the citizens of the GDR will make a good and correct decision." As a Christian he is always optimistic.

CDU's De Maiziere Votes

LD1803093190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0911 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christian Democratic Union Chairman Lothar de Maiziere this morning cast his vote at the polling station of ward eight in the Berlin borough of Treptow. Afterwards he and his wife Ilse were besieged by journalists. Pointing out that the election campaign finished on Friday evening, he did not want to make any comment to the press but hoped that the election will be the "expression of the democracy we have won and our citizens' understanding of democracy."

Boehme 'Pleased' at Casting Vote

LD1803103190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0950 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The apartment where Ibrahim Boehme, Social Democratic Party [SPD] party chairman, lives is only 30 meters from polling station No. 741 in Chodowiecki-Strasse in the Berlin borough of Prenzlauer Berg, which is rich in traditions. The SPD's leading candidate needed more than 10 minutes to cover this distance this morning. Several hundred journalists from East and West besieged both the entrance to the building and the polling station. The politician could only make his way through them with great effort. At 0910 Boehme's ballot paper was dropped into the ballot box.

"I am pleased and quite happy about these first free elections in the GDR," Ibrahim Boehme said in response to countless questions from reporters about his feelings on casting his vote. It was not possible to coax political statements from the 45-year-old at the polling station. Boehme expressed his wish for election Sunday as follows: "First of all that the sun continues to shine like this."

After voting the GDR VIP headed for the nearby beer bar, "194."

Modrow on Significance of Election

LD1803101490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0947 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Before voting Hans Modrow assessed the People's Chamber elections as an important event in the history of the GDR and also of Europe. He was greeted by numerous citizens with applause and words of thanks for his self-sacrificing work as government head in front of a polling station in the Berlin central city area. The premier told the waiting representatives of the international media that the last few days and weeks have shown that the citizens of the GDR viewed this election as a very significant one for the further country's development.

Hans Modrow expressed the expectation that the process of the unification of the two German states is and will remain a European one. "Ony then, if we behave level-headedly, will people in Europe be able to look favorably on us. And this is the responsibility that we bear."

The premier told ADN that he expects that there will be a chance for his party, the Party for Democratic Socialism, to be a very strong and active opposition.

Modrow Complains of FRG Influence

LD1803102190 Hamburg DPA in German 0940 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Hans Modrow, outgoing premier and leading Party for Democratic Socialism candidate, complained while casting his vote in East Berlin that the election campaign has been too strongly influenced by the parties in the Federal Republic. Modrow, accompanied by his wife, was awaited by an enormous press gathering at his polling station in the Heinrich Hertz Secondary School on the Frankfurter Allee. He said that this was "a free election." At the same time he pointed to outside influences and the campaign appearances and aid by foreign politicians and parties. He said he is hoping for a "strong and active Party for Democratic Socialism opposition." During the day the party intends to discuss its future moves and the chairman of its parliamentary group. Modrow also wants to be able "to catch up on a bit of sleep" after election day.

NDPD's Rauls Votes

LD1803112590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0935 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—This day was surely loaded with tension and was full of expectation for all voters, Wolfgang Rauls, chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], told ADN in Magdeburg. "I hope that this pressure of high expectation can be fulfilled by the new People's Chamber and government."

During the past weeks, he said, his party has endeavoured to conduct a serious election campaign. As president of the Magdeburg town assembly of deputies he is already looking at the local elections. The NDPD wants to launch these elections with its party conference on 3 March.

Krenz Welcomes Elections, Votes

LD1803104890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1002 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN). "I think it is good that we are having democratic elections," Egon Krenz, the last Socialist Unity Party of Germany General Secretary, said early this morning before casting his vote in Pankow polling station 19. His wife Erika (50) and his eighteen-year-old son Carsten, who is voting for the first time,

came with him to the polling station on the Majakowskiring, where just ten months ago, as always during past decades, the highest GDR political figures voted.

He did not wish to say whether he was pleased about these elections until he knew the result. Of course he would watch the relevant broadcasts even if it went on past midnight.

As far as the result of the voting is concerned he has confidence "above all in the adult citizen of the GDR to vote for our people's right of self-determination." It was a long path that brought him in his thinking to the goal that there could be free elections in the GDR. "I just hope that all those who have sown reap the harvest, namely those who were on the streets in October and November with the beautiful call of "We are the people," and that those who took no part in the sowing do not reap the harvest."

The chairman of the 1989 GDR election commission attributed possibilities of manipulation in past times with the will of the citizens to an incomplete election law and system [as received] and also to the fact that during the past 40 years there had never been real free elections in the GDR.

Berghofer Votes, Urges Self-Government

LD1803111890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1036 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—"A legitimated government can finally counter the prevailing insecurity among the population with a freely elected parliament because its steps and actions no longer have a transitional character," Dresden's chief mayor, Wolfgang Berghofer, stated to ADN after leaving the polling station. In his opinion this is also very important for the promotion of local self-administration because up to now everything has only been thought out in crude contours.

"But speedy action is necessary so that concrete results become visible for the citizens," the local politician said. He expects the new government to introduce in the first place all the legislative steps to enable the consistent transformation of life. "The towns will only overcome the dilemma if they get their sovereignty and can govern themselves." Part of this is for the chief mayor, above all, that they can dispose of their own income as well as local property and have taxation rights and rights of self-determination. A prerequisite for this is the creation of laender that enforce valid local constitutions on their territory.

The city head, who was surrounded by journalists, had to wait in a long line of voters with his wife Dietlinde for almost half an hour in front of the polling station near the Altmarkt to cast his vote.

Honecker Not To Vote

LD1803120390 Hamburg DPA in German 1050 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Lobetal (DPA)—Erich and Margot Honecker, currently living with a pastor in the Lobetal community near Bernau, north of Berlin, will not move in the foreseeable future. The couple's lawyers assured DPA of this in response to an inquiry. They were thus reacting to speculation according to which a move is planned today or tomorrow. The lawyers said, "A move to another location is not planned in the near future, and certainly not today or tomorrow."

The pastor's house in the small community has been besieged by numerous journalists and camera teams on election Sunday. The lawyers repeated their announcement that the former state and party leader and his wife, the former minister for national education, will not go to the polls.

Honecker is still ill. Inqiries are in progress against the 77 year-old for abuse of office. He may also be charged with high treason.

Manfred Gerlach on Political Issues

LD1803115990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1045 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Professor Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR Council of State, told ADN after voting that there is a chance for the GDR state. It is a question of each being equal on the path to the unification of the two German states and each bringing in what is good for all of Germany. "With this election today the citizens are deciding how this state should be. We have a lot to contribute to German unity. It is not simply hard work, motivation, qualifications, and the great intelligence and knowledge of our people; it is also 40 years of experience which have been gathered in this society in living together, often under difficult conditions. And there are the humanistic characteristics of our state such as solidarity, antifascism, the struggle against racism and apartheid, and the struggle for secure frontiers in Europe," he stated.

Asked about the fulfillment of his hopes and desires which he and his then party, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, stood for in Autumn 1989, Prof. Erlach said that the expectations have been fulfilled in all the main points, and some of them have been exceeded. For the people who achieved the change then are now on the right path, on the path to democracy. Some things, however, are moving very quickly and happening too precipitously and are also following tracks that he does not like so much. "Part of this is that, for example too, little is being discussed as regards content, and too much is being done boldly, too much interference is taking place from outside and unfortuntely we have too little time in the GDR to examine ourselves and to shape a society that is equipped with the experiences of the past decades. But this is not decisive. I would say that it is

spring, and we are free. And this is the decisive question for the people. And they should go along a path, a path that leads to the unity of Germany and where the citizens of the GDR will also have a good future.

Willi Stoph Not on Electoral Roll

LD1803123190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1107 GMT 18 Mar 90

[ADN editor Dietmar Kroshky report: "Alice Stoph: I can't vote"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Sixty-four year old Alice Stoph comes down the steps of "her" polling station No. 19 in Majakowskiring in Pankow early this morning in a mixture of perplexity and anger. The wife of the 12 years-older ex-GDR premier Will Stoph had learned moments earlier that neither she nor he husband could be found on the list of voters. "And yet we have been registered here since 12 December," she said to journalists there.

Had she not looked at the list of voters in order to secure her right and that of her husband to vote? Alice Stoph shook her head, she had probably never thought of this sort of thing that previously others had done for her. But she explained to the photographers and representatives of the press taking notes: The poor state of her husband's health would make it impossible for her to leave the house. Now, however, she does not wish to undertake anything else to ensure her rights.

Dieter Plath, deputy press spokesman of the GDR state prosecutor's office, told ADN that the ex-premier, who is accused, as are other former Socialist Unity of Germany top functionaries, of abuse of office and corruption, is at present exempt from imprisonment for health reasons.

"The list of electors has been closed since Saturday. Stoph's case will have to be checked," Christoph Poehlmann, New Forum representative on the GDR election commission, told ADN.

Gregor Gysi Votes

LD1803115190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1121 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Shortly before 1230, PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] Chairman, Gregor Gysi cast his vote for the People's Chamber election amid a large international media presence at Lichtenberg's "Werner Lamberz" Secondary School. In the room, which was overflowing with television crews and press photographers, only the voting booths remained protected from the gaze of strangers. Asked by a reporter which way he had voted, Gysi said: "That remains my electoral secret."

On the way to the polling station Gysi said that significant issues of unification could be better cleared up through a confederation. At the moment he sees "around 150 open questions in the legal area alone" which must be cleared up before unification. In response to a question about possible partners in a coalition for the PDS, Gysi emphatically ruled out cooperation with the "Alliance for Germany."

Gysi again stressed the PDS' refusal to take part in the media circus at the Palace of the Republic, as it would hardly be a GDR election program because of the strong Western presence. However, he does want to be present at the House of Democracy and in the House of Young Talents in the evening.

The PDS actual election celebration will take place in the party executive building within view of the palace.

Modrow To Contact FRG's PDS

LD1803125790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1242 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Hans Modrow intends to begin contacts with the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] founded in Hamburg immediately after the elections. The politician and leading candidate for the PDS told ADN this today. He will be prepared to appear at a large rally in Hamburg in November during the election campaign for the Bundestag. [passage omitted]

Observer Says Elections Correct

LD1803132890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1307 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Up to now in the People's Chamber elections in the GDR everything has proceeded very correctly. Wolfgang Blenk, member of an observers' delegation from the European parliament, said this to ADN. This delegation and other foreign deputations, including one from the Council of Europe, inspected polling stations. Police spokesmen confirmed that the first free and secret elections were running quietly and peacefully. After they had voted, politicians in the country expressed their thoughts on the elections to domestic and foreign media representatives.

Pastor Eppelmann Votes

LD1803142190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1333 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"I hope that a true democrat will emerge from the elections as the victor," the acting chairman of the "Democratic Awakening" [DA], Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, said after casting his vote in Berlin's polling district 027 in Eldenauer Strasse. The fatefulness of the first free vote in Eastern Europe goes far beyond the borders of the GDR, according to the DA's leading candidate. He is thankful and happy that he himself is experiencing this development, of which he had once only dreamed. The minister without portfolio in the government of national responsibility under Hans Modrow emphasized that this development will be benefit their own children and grandchildren.

Previously Eppelmann called out casually to the approximately 50 reporters, photographers, and cameramen, mainly from the FRG: "If only you could all vote for me."

Polling Stations Close

LD1803172690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Punctually at 1800 the polling stations for the GDR People's Chamber elections closed. Afterwards the public counting of votes will begin everywhere. The first computer predictions are expected at about 1930. Petra Blaess, chairwoman of the GDR Election Commission, will announce the provisional final result at about midnight, and the official final result will follow on Friday [23 March].

Modrow, Gysi React to Election Prediction

LD1803190890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1728 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The election prediction of 15 percent for the renewed Party of Democratic Socialism meant, in the view of acting Prime Minister Hans Modrow (PDS), that his party can be an effective opposition in the People's Chamber.

Party Chairman Gregor Gysi said in the same Second German Television broadcast that the PDS is facing up to the historic process of unification. The question is only on what train, at what speed, and where one is going. "We do not want the GDR to be incorporated into the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law, rather we want both to grow equally, independently, and sovereignly into a new Germany that is better than the previous GDR, but also better than the FRG has been up to now."

SPD Deputy Chairman Admits Defeat

LD1803183890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1816 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] is the greater loser in this election, SPD Deputy Chairman Markus Meckel noted on ZDF (Second German Television). Questions must now be asked about the causes, which he sees in the election campaign, which in the last two to three weeks assumed very problematic characteristics. There was not much talk about fairness. Inexperience in democracy played a fundamental part.

The SPD must accept the challenge to the extent that it wanted to be a strong opposition in the future parliament, and then tried to lay emphasis on the points it already selected in relation to the unification process. He named social questions and European stability.

West Berlin Mayor on 'Poor' Result for SPD

LD1803192190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1837 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Walter Momper, governing mayor of West Berlin, told ADN that he did not expect such a poor election result for the SPD [Social Democratic Party]. There has been a very large vote for the expectations that have been aroused, such as a rapid economic union. In this situation of unity euphoria Kohl has held good cards. The warning voices have not been able to get their message across properly, Momper said.

Krenz Views Elections, Unification

AU1803210990 Vienna KURIER in German 18 Mar 90 p 5

[Interview with former GDR party-state leader Egon Krenz by Marco Schenz in Niederschoenhausen; date not given: "I am in Favor of Reunification"]

[Text] [Schenz] Will you vote?

[Krenz] Of course.

[Schenz] For whom are you going to vote?

[Krenz] The elections are secret. Every vote that is made public is invalid. But let me say this: I do not shed my convictions in the cloakroom. The only thing that has failed is the social system which we misrepresented as socialism.

[Schenz] What election results would you like to see?

[Krenz] A strong leftist opposition which forces every government to maintain this country's identity.

[Schenz] Do you think that the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], the successor of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], has a chance?

[Krenz] I am giving it a greater chance than opinion pollsters have done; however, it will probably only be enough for it to be in opposition.

[Schenz] Do you think that the election campaign has been dirty?

[Krenz] I am irritated by the strong nationalist tones.

[Schenz] Are you in favor of reunification?

[Krenz] I am in favor of a long-term process. The GDR must not creep into the fold of the FRG.

[Schenz] Are you happy to see that those who led the democracy movement do not have a chance in the elections?

[Krenz] I regret that people of such high political ethics, who were suffering under our security doctrine, cannot reap where they have sown. Others will reap the fruits of their work.

[Schenz] Whom would you like to see as prime minister?

[Krenz] A person who is not spoon-fed by Bonn.

Modrow on Election Forecasts, His Future

LD1803192690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1747 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first prognoses allow the conclusion that a number of the voters paid more attention to the "loud mouths" than to those considerations relevant both for the GDR's development and for the growing together of the two German states, Premier Hans Modrow said at a Party for Democratic Socialism election party. Regarding his future party membership, he said to great applause that a party which had so renewed itself could, for Hans Modrow, never be the wrong party. He intends in the future to work to a greater extent in parliament for Europe and Germany policy.

Modrow Ponders Coalition With DBD, Greens

LD1803193190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1856 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Judging from the election prognoses so far, Hans Modrow could imagione a coalition of the Party for Democratic Socialism with the Democratic Peasant Party or the Greens in the future People's Chamber. The PDS top candidate expressed this view this evening in a live program broadcast by DT 64 in the House of Young Talents in Berlin.

Liberals 'Open-minded' on Coalition

LD1803192690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1903 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Liberals in the GDR are open-minded about a coalition. This was stated by the chairmen of the three parties within the League of Free Democrats on First German Television. Liberal Democratic Party leader Ortleb spoke of a result "which does not dismay us, but we did expect better." He said that a coalition depends on the partners' programs. FDP [Free Democratic Party] Chairman Dr. Menzel said he expects that the party which is asked to form a government will approach the Liberals. It was sensible of the GDR Liberals to unite, German Forum Party Chairman Schmieder said. Lambsdorff, leader of the FRG's FDP, said that his party's goal is "a united German liberal party." There is agreement on this with the GDR Liberals. "We want to continue working toward this aim," the party chairman said. He can imagine a joint working committee of all liberals that will undertake preparations.

Observers: Election in Accordance With Rules

LD1803212190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1944 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the view of the 10 observers from the Council of Europe, the elections have taken place in accordance with the rules. One of those sent from Strasbourg, Karl Ahrens, confirmed this to SAT 1. This has become clear not only from the external proceedings, but also from the fact that the election committees are extraordinarily pleased at the observers' appearance. The EC politician endorsed the complaints from the smaller parties that they received too little support from the West and thus fared badly in the election campaign. Similarly, it came to his attention that the large parties had received massive help with speakers and publicity material from the West. This may well have had an effect on the result.

The Council of Europe member assessed the interim result as an unequivocal vote not only for a united Germany, but also for a Germany in this European integration. The poor showing of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] successor organization stressed this. The election in the GDR is a vote of confidence for Europe and a change by which the Europeans could gain.

TV on City/Rural Electoral Differences

LD1803223290 Hamburg DPA in German 1913 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—According to a first analysis by GDR television there are clear differences in electoral behavior in the GDR's primarily rural districts and the big cities. Accordingly, in rural districts the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] with 51.5 percent is far above the GDR average of about 44 percent, while the Social Democratic Party [SPD] with 18.2 percent and the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] with 10.1 percent is well below the average. In the big cities this trend is reversed according to this analysis. Here the SPD with 29 percent was the strongest force, in front of the CDU with 24.8 percent. In the big cities the PDS with 24.9 percent was just ahead of the CDU's 24.8

Brandt 'Disappointed' With SPD Election Result

LD1803222390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2125 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Although he has no quarrel with the fact that today parliamentary democracy has been established in the GDR, Social Democratic Party [SPD] honorary chairman Willy Brandt is disappointed with the election result of the SPD's eastern sister party. There is no doubt that the majority of the electorate want German unity quickly and without ifs and buts, he said. However, problems are still to come, he told the Christian Democratic Union.

Almost nobody remembered today that exactly 100 years ago Otto von Bismarck had to resign since he had failed

in the struggle against German social democracy. The same will happen to others, too, he said to applause from the audience at the SPD election party.

He is pleased about the SPD's good results in the GDR capital. [passage omitted]

ADN on Kohl Reaction to Elections

LD1803213190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1930 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first free and secret elections in the GDR are a historic event, said FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on First German Television. Kohl thanked the FRG's allies and USSR president Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroyka, who have made possible these "first really free elections in 58 years." It is a happy moment, Chancellor Kohl stressed, because the citizens of the GDR have decided against any form of extremism. They have clearly rejected the Party for Democratic Socialism. The voters of the GDR have made it clear that they want to take a path which leads them along with the FRG into a united Germany. "My message in this hour is: Stay in your homeland," said Kohl. He made a plea to "join with us in building up this wonderful country together."

Kohl on Currency Union, Sidesteps Border Issue

LD1803230190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2134 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Chairman Chancellor Helmut Kohl at a news conference in Bonn this evening counseled against any undue haste in unification process. "I am against any undue haste," the chancellor said. The talks about the currency union now have to be pushed forward rapidly. The introduction of the currency union is the most important topic. But it entails a social union also.

With regard to the formulation of the government in the GDR, Kohl came out in favor of a broad majority of parties, over and above the Alliance for Germany. He repeated his position, saying that he favors an accession of the GDR to the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law. But now there has to be discussion of this with the People's Chamber "in a calm atmosphere."

The process of the unification of the nation can, in Kohl's view, be made possible only in close consultation with the neighbors and friends of the FRG. He expressed the hope that the two-plus-four process that began in Ottawa will be concluded before the end of this year, and that the results thus achieved could be put before a CSCE summit conference.

Asked by a French journalist whether at this—as he stressed—"happy moment" he does not want after all to finally recognize the Oder-Neisse line, the chancellor once again did not give a clear answer.

On the question of the abolition of the emergency reception procedure for GDR resettlers, the chancellor said that the Federal cabinet will have to decide this on 20 March.

Lafontaine on Need to Make Kohl Keep Promises

LD1803223990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1942 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Commenting on the Social Democratic Party's [SPD] election results, Oskar Lafontaine, Saarland prime minister, told ARD that he has always been sceptical since he knows what the expectations of the people in the GDR are. The federal chancellor aroused great expectations and made promises. In the GDR there had been an extraordinary situation, and it is understandable that the people are putting their money on Chancellor Kohl and on him keeping his promises. "I would in any case have promised less," Lafontaine said. It will be the Social Democrats' task to confront Helmut Kohl at all times with his promises.

"We must do everything possible to ensure that the people here are soon as well off as those in the Federal Republic," Lafontaine said. It is important that considerable resources be diverted to the GDR.

Gerlach on 'Surprising' Election Result

LD1803224890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1933 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—It can only be a good thing for the body of liberal thinking to be brought into the new government, the acting GDR State Council chairman Professor Manfred Gerlach of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD) has said. The most important thing about the surprising election result is that the great majority of the GDR population want the unity of Germany under favorable conditions. As the citizens of the FRG also want this unity, good conditions were created for this.

Modrow, Gysi on Election Result

LD1803231490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2257 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a first statement to ADN, leading candidate Hans Modrow has said that the performance of the PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] in the People's Chamber elections is the optimal result for a party that has renewed itself. The election result has to be accepted as it is. As a politician he has the responsibility of analyzing this result, particularly the gap between the "Alliance for Germany" and the SPD [Social Democratic Party]. As Modrow noted, the Alliance did not accept the election movement in the GDR as a national event. Modrow stressed that the GDR citizen has to develop a feeling of responsibility for Europe. Annexation of the GDR to the FRG under Article 23 would cause concern in Europe. "A premier must also know this if he is prepared with his cabinet to

bear responsibility toward Germans and toward Europeans," he added. He said it is the task of a strong left-wing opposition to bring into a united Germany whatever is worth preserving.

Party Chairman Gregor Gysi said the PDS' most important tasks are at present to do serious work as a group in the People's Chamber and to work out strategies for the local elections. The party has to analyze history consistently and to set up new social models.

Election Campaign Expenditure Outlined

LD1803104390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0530 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Each of the parties and movements represented at the roundtable was able to raise a credit from the Council of Ministers of 250,000 marks, to be used not only for the election campaign. The German Social Union, which was not represented at the roundtable, therefore received no monies from the state budget.

The interim election campaign budget of the parties and alliances were individually (in millions of marks):

Party for Democratic Socialism	5.5
Social Democratic Party [SPD]	0.5
Christian Democratic Union [CDU]	1.5
Democratic Peasant Party	under 0.25
United Left	0.2
Alliance 90	1.0

The CDU/Christian Social Union, SPD, and Free Democratic Party of the Federal Republic contributed several million Deutsche marks to support their GDR sister parties. A state secretary from Bonn's Ministry of intra-German Affairs announced last Friday that the supplementary budget of the federal government aimed for "democracy aid measures" totals 20 million Deutsche marks.

Preelection Activities, Events Reported

CSU Chairman at DSU Rally

LD1603201190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1812 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Christian Social Union [CSU] Chairman Dr. Theodor Waigel described the vote by GDR citizens this coming Sunday as a fateful election for Germany, Europe, and the world at a German Social Union [DSU] rally in Dresden today. "Your choice will decide policy, a policy for Germany, you will change Europe as scarcely before at an election," he called to the thousands of people; the historic Theater Square. The Germans do not need any more frontiers. "Rivers should not divide us—bridges should link us," the federal finance minister stressed.

The federal government had already made the most important offer to bring economic and social developments in the GDR by introducing the Deutsche mark and the social market economy. Comprehensive reforms, which so far have failed because of the government's half-heartedness, are necessary for this. In this context the finance minister gave an assurance to savers in the GDR that they would not be deprived of the fruits of their labor. "I see a good chance of an exchange rate of 1:1 being possible for small savers in particular."

Earlier DSU General Secretary Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel spoke in favor of joining [the FRG] in accordance with Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law. The laender should enter into a common Germany with their faults, advantages, and self-awareness and "enrich it with a Saxon element".

Willy Brandt at SPD Rally

LD1603231690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1836 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Wismar (ADN)—Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of the Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] in both German states, has spoken in favor of a new German constitution based on the tried and tested Basic Law of the FRG. At a rally in Wismar, with which the SPD started down the final straight of the election campaign in the north of the GDR, Brandt stressed to the applause of around 30,000 participants: This new and augmented constitution had to be put before the citizens of both German states for approval. It is important in this that the votes of men and women from the area between the Baltic and the Erzgebirge have the same weight as those of people who live between Flensburg and Passau.

Brandt pointed to the difficulties to be expected in the change over to a united Germany, which however can be overcome. Those governing in Bonn and the GDR parliament newly elected on Sunday must be told: Now we want not just to talk but also to get on with the job.

Ibrahim Boehme also touched on this area of emphasis. His party will support monetary federation, which is to be achieved by July, without half-heartedness. "We shall take Federal Chancellor Kohl at his word when he promises swift aid to a democratically elected government of the GDR," Boehme stressed. The SPD politician promised that the land reform, social achievements, such as kindergartens, for example, and the right of trade unions to have a say will be retained. The current trade union laws offer a good basis for this, even if it is incomplete. The fact the SPD is preparing to take on responsiblity for government only 160 days after its founding is not due solely to it but to a quite significant extent to all the social democrats of Europe.

Danish Social Democratic Party Chairman Svend Auken congratulated the citizens of the GDR on their peaceful revolution. "Now neighbors can finally get to know one

another. You are the first German citizens to have won freedom and democracy for yourselves," he said.

Gysi Addresses PDS Rally

LD1603231990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1849 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—With the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] there will be no united NATO-Germany. Thousands of Berliners greeted these words by Party Chairman Gregor Gysi with vigorous applause during the PDS' final event this evening on Alexanderplatz. They expressed their desire to vote for List 19 on Sunday.

Gregor Gysi and other speakers spoke emphatically in favor of preserving the social achievements. Among the speakers were former publishing house head Walter Janka, who said that he had had "difficulties with the truth" for many years under Hitler and Ulbricht, and the actress Steffie Spira who called on the GDR citizens not to allow themselves to be seduced along the path of the unification of the two German states, but to consider the idea. Japanese expert Yvonne Kaufmann, PDS candidate for the elections, followed this by quoting the Japanese proverb: If you are in a hurry, make a detour.

Genscher Speaks at Leipzig Rally

LD1603183890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1740 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) [Free Democratic Party] today called for a social market economy and a united Germany within the borders of 1990 at a League of Free Democrats (LDP, F.D.P., DEP) [Liberal Democratic Party, Free Democratic Party, German Forum Party] rally at the end of the campaign in Leipzig. "Our need for power has been satisfied once and for all," he said to the applause of the well over 10,000 participants in front of the Dimitrov Museum.

Genscher went on to say that a new, freely elected GDR Government would not enter into negotiations on the unification of the two German states empty-handed. Rather it would be able to point out that the people it represented had fought for its own freedom under difficult conditions. He valued the industriousness, activeness, and creativity of his compatriots in the GDR. Under the conditions of a social market economy, Saxony could again be one of the flourishing parts of Europe within a short period of time.

"A region with great economic growth will arise here," the federal foreign minister said. Whoever wants to defend so-called achievements should visit hospitals and old people's homes in the Federal Republic. Then he would know what there is to be defended.

In the foreign policy part of his speech, Genscher spoke in favor of radical disarmament moves in East and West. After the wall of stones has fallen, the walls of missiles, bombs, and shells must now disappear.

Genscher on Unification Talks

LD1603200390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1818 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—The freely elected Government of the GDR will negotiate with equal rights with the Federal Government, cooperation will be independent of how the election result in the GDR turns out and how the future government is composed. FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said this in an interview prereleased to ADN for the first edition of the MITTELDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG which will appear beginning tomorrow in Halle in place of FREIHEIT.

The economic, monetary, and social union should come into force "as quickly as possible," Genscher stressed in the interview. Bonn's promise to convert savings will hold.

The Germans are determined not to implement the unification at the cost of third parties and not to present any faits accomplis. It is stated clearly, the FRG foreign minister said, "what we wish to unify": "The FRG, the GDR, and the whole of Berlin, not less but also not more."

Genscher states that the Germans have no territorial claims on any neighbors, including Poland. He personally will steadfastly pursue the course of unification in harmony with all neighboring states.

FRG, GDR FDP's Plan To Unite

LD1603203890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1808 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—The Free Democratic Parties [FDP] in the two German states wish to start preparing for a unified FDP without delay after 18 March. FDP Federal Chairman Count Otto Lambsdorff announced this this afternoon at a rally at the conclusion of the election campaign of the Alliance of Free Democrats in Potsdam.

Lambsdorff advocated a consistent social market economy. There should be no chance for half-hearted reforms and a so-called better socialism. German unity is immediately on the agenda. The decision on this as well as the conditions for it, however, are the duty of GDR citizens and their new government. As far as supplies for children in kindergartens is concerned, for example, he would welcome improvements in this sphere for the FRG, too.

Democratic Awakening Chairman at Rally

LD1603210490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1842 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Schwerin (ADN)—The final rally in the Alliance for Germany election campaign in Schwerin late this

afternoon met with only moderate interest. Only a few hundred people came to the Old Garden. Rainer Eppelmann, acting chairman of Democratic Awakening, first of all dealt with the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS]. Social Security, warmth, and a future are promised on its posters, whereas it has many members in its ranks who have not managed to build social security and a future in the country.

The GDR stands for "45 years of mismanagement, for administered shortages, for dictatorship and intolerance, for fear and terror, for political trials, for 30 years in prison for everyone since the building of the Wall, and total surveillance by the State Security." A stop has to be put to this once and for all. After 18 March the PDS and Socialist Unity Party of Germany should not be allowed to have any political power. [passage omitted]

PDS Not To Participate in Media 'Ballyhoo'

LD1603212590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2019 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] will not take part in the media ballyhoo in the Palace of the Republic on 18 March. This was announced in a press statement from the party today. It said that on 18 March the citizens of the GDR will determine by their votes the composition of the future GDR parliament. In the face of the heralded television stations, presenters, and politicians from the FRG the question is raised: Who is doing the voting, where, and for what?

The PDS considers the presence of Federal German politicians at the various rounds of talks, in particular in the planned ratio, to be out of place. Therefore PDS representatives will not take part in the "Talks Shows" in the Palace of the Republic.

The PDS invites all parties, political groups, and grassroots groups who represent the same or similar views and who have similar reservations to spend election Sunday together in the building of the PDS executive and/or to exchange top candidates for talks.

Electoral Commission Issues Resolution

LD1703143790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1359 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (Adn)—On the basis of information in connection with the legal election rules, the GDR's Electoral Commission stated on this as a result of specific examinations of reports to the contrary: The citizens of the GDR can exercise their right to vote on 18 March 1990 in the firm certainty that the GDR's Electoral Commission, the constituency commissions, as well as the electoral executives, have done everything necessary to comprehensively secure the first free, democratic, and secret elections in our country.

This resolution was passed in the presence of the presidium working at the GDR's Electoral Commission.

Brandt, Boehme at Rally in Rostock

LD1703224590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2028 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Leading Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] politicians from the GDR and the FRG staged the finale to their intensive election campaign in Rostock this evening. Only a few hours before the polling booths open, Honorary Chairman Willy Brandt and Chairman of the GDR SPD Ibrahim Boehme addressed thousands of citizens of Rostock and called on them to help decide the orientation of the future political course by ensuring a high turnout.

Large sections of the world will be turning their attention to the GDR, stressed Brandt, who had already spoken the same day at rallies in Greifswald and Stralsund.

Everywhere they are interested in the question of how serious the citizens of the GDR now are about taking their destiny into their own hands.

Ibrahim Boehme used the rally in order to again sketch the GDR's future political path. The SPD's main aim is a democratic and social policy which his party is striving for in a broad coalition with other forces—excluding only the PDS and the German Social Union.

W. Berlin Protest for Independent GDR

LD1703185990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1644 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (West) (ADN)—"End the national frenzy—For an independent GDR." This was the demand made by thousands of people from both halves of the city who demonstrated today along the Kurfuerstendamm in West Berlin. Many red flags and GDR flags were to be seen in the procession. Among the organizers and supporters of the demonstration were the Alternative Youth Organization of West Berlin (AFW), the Autonomous Youth Antifa, the General Student Committee of the Free University, members of the managing committee of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, and people from trade unions and parties in West Berlin and the GDR. [passage omitted]

Gysi Urges Cooperation Within Left Wing

LD1703221490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2050 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], speaking in West Berlin, has called for joint discussion and action by the German left. During a debate at the Technical University today Gysi told more than 2,000 people that there are many shared interests between the representatives of the left. They must cooperate to avert at least the greatest damage being planned in Bonn. Whereas the German right has already formed, the left is ideologically splintered, and it is necessary to reach an understanding at least on the important points.

While Gysi received broad support on this point, there was a vehement discussion about issues relating to German unification. Various participants in the discussion held the view that unification of the GDR with the FRG must be resisted and that the GDR should be preserved as an independent state. On this topic the PDS chairman said that the unification process is under way within the framework of European unification. The only important thing is whether to get involved and help shape it or to remain outside. Gysi came out in favor of a considered, gradual process of unification from which something should emerge "that is better than the present GDR, than West Berlin, and the FRG." Hence, the PDS is in favor of a strong and sovereign GDR with a strong government, because only in this way will it be able to represent the interests of the GDR citizens in the process of European unification. There is much that needs reforming on both sides.

Modrow Interviewed on Elections

AU1603140290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Hans Modrow by Karin Doerre; place and date not given: "I Will Advocate the Interests of All Citizens"]

[Text] [Doerre] How do you see today's election rally?

[Modrow] I am very impressed with what I have seen. If I win the voters' confidence, I will advocate the concerns about which I have been informed in many ways—the interests of the peasants, workers, tradesmen, and of all citizens. Above all, I will support peace and peaceful cooperation in Europe.

[Doerre] In retrospect, how do you see your approximately 120 days as prime minister?

[Modrow] We did not assume office as a transitional government. Developments made it necessary that national responsibility had to be assumed. The government was able to work constructively in the interest of the people because it was supported by a broad basis.

[Doerre] Things that were drafted jointly by the roundtable and the People's Chamber are being attacked by various sides at this point, the law on trade unions, for example....

[Modrow] ...which belongs to the social elements that we want to preserve in an economic and monetary union.

[Doerre] Would you like to give a piece of advice to a new government, no matter what it will be like.

[Modrow] I do not consider it useful to give advice to those who will bear responsibility after 18 March. It is up to the new government to decide what it wants to accept from our achievements.

[Doerre] How will the party develop in the future?

[Modrow] Gregor Gysi and I are thinking about what the Party of Democratic Socialism could give to the People's Chamber so that it will acquire a strong profile on the left, and what can be done to ensure that future-oriented ideas will also have their place in a united Germany.

Election Roundtable Talks 13 Mar

LD1803005190

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1900 GMT on 13 March carries a 2-hour live studio panel discussion with election candidates.

Presenter Dr. Bernhard Buechel introduces the participating representatives, leading candidates of three list associations and five parties, and asks them what percentage of the votes they are expecting to get.

Herbert Driebe, for the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USPD), says he expects three to five percent. Rolf Schmidt, for the Independent People's Party (UVP), is fighting for five percent. Toralf Endruweit, for the Spartacist Workers' Party of Germany, declines to speculate on percentage figures but expects to get representatives in the People's Chamber. Martin Kirchner, for the Christian Democratic Party of Germany (CDU), thinks forecasts of around 21 percent for the CDU are realistic.

Rainer Eppelmann, for the Democratic Awakening (DA), declines to give a forecast—surveys show wide discrepancies. When asked about the state of health of then party chairman Schnur, he refers to a heart attack three years ago. He says he sees no reason to doubt Schnur's word on allegations of Stasi involvement.

Rainer Ortleb, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), for the League of Free Democrats, sees 5 to 10 percent as typical for liberals internationally. The target should be somehwat above this. Vera Wollenberger, for the Green Party and Independent Women's Association (IWA), refers to the Green Party's origin in environmental groups. Marion Seeling, for Action Alliance-United Left (the alliance of the Carnations and the United Left), expects around three percent.

Second Presenter Peter Gueter notes that the decision has been made to concentrate the discussion on the same questions as the first program, with five subject areas: money, children, property, work, and the socially vulnerable.

Buechel begins with the subject of money. The subject covers subsidies, prices, wages, and rents. The participants are asked to think in terms of what they would like to preserve from the past and what new paths they want to pursue.

Eppelmann indicates that the DA is favors new money, "good money for good work." And this change must be arranged in such a way that social hardship is avoided. The current economic situation is worsening, but the

GDR is not going to be joining a country with an economy like that of Bangladesh. What we are being offered is worth having.

Endruweit claims the capitalists will aim to make the biggest possible profits out of the GDR, and an instant monetary union will lead to rapid inflation.

Kirchner says the Alliance for Germany backs an exchange of 1:1.

Wollenberger points out that the Greens have called for an exchange of 1:1 from the start. Alternatives would be socially unjust. However, caution must be exercised in establishing a monetary union.

Ortleb believes there is no time to delay over the question of a monetary union. This is a political question and the people expect a solution. The GDR has effectively forgotten the real uses and functions of money. This must be relearned.

Driebe thinks there needs to be a lengthy process of monetary and political unification.

Schmidt says that the things that need to be brought into the future are honesty, belief in the good in man, and hope. Then there will be no need to fear the Deutsche mark. Monetary union is a precondition for unification.

Seelig considers that a monetary union will mean bankruptcy for two thirds of enterprises. The idea is a purely political maneuver. The majority of the people will get a shock from a monetary and political union.

Buechel reads out an assurance from the State Prosecutor's Office that members of the office did not reveal details of the Schnur affair. Gueter then moves on to the second subject—children. This will cover child care, schooling, and related issues.

Wollenberger believes that the child care facilities developed in the GDR should be preserved, but there will have to be extensive educational reforms, removing state monopoly over education.

Kirchner notes that the child care facilities are one of the few areas that should be retained. However, there should be decentralization to the laender on educational questions. Social spending can only be financed through performance and there will be a difficult transitional period, but in the end the market economy will provide the means.

Ortleb sees the problems over such facilities as not coming from the Deutsche mark, they are inherent. The structures must be kept to the extent that they can be afforded.

Schmidt emphasizes the weight the People's Party attaches to the family.

Eppelmann says the individual must become used to making direct contributions to pay for social spending. To date, the GDR citizen thought this came out of a general pot. There will be federated structures in the future so that it will be possible for differences to exist.

Seelig thinks that in order to keep the social structures a sovereign GDR will have to be maintained for some time.

Driebe points out that the question also arises to the media, which exercises great influence on children. What should be done to protect children in this respect?

Endruweit claims that social structures will be paid by smashing the capitalist out of West Germany and establishing a workers' democracy thoughout Germany.

Wollenberger stresses the concerns of single mothers at present, especially over jobs.

At this point Buechel introduces a late guest: Lothar Guegel, president of the European Federalist Party-Europe Party (EFP), a citizen of the Federal Republic. Guegel stresses the short period of campaigning the party has had. It is thinking of the long term.

Buechel brings up the next subject—property.

Seelig says the United Left thinks "social property" should dominate, but agrees about the need for private property. Farming cooperatives should be retained and small companies promoted in the services sector.

Ortleb believes structures must come about which allow free decisions instead of central planning. Ownership forms must permit this. Considered thinking is needed on the ownership question.

Epplemann says: "I could live with the public ownership of property in key industries." Handing over publicly-owned enterprises to the workers would absorb surplus money and help prevent inflation. We must avoid sell-outs, perhaps through options to buy for GDR citizens.

Ortleb thinks different property forms are needed for different situations.

Driebe stresses that publicly-owned proprty must be secured for GDR citizens. What is actually state-owned property should be turned into real public ownership.

Kirchner considers the precondition for a really functioning social market economy to be property, in its true meaning, including the right to dispose of it. The major enterprises, the combines must also be privatized. A change to the trade union law passed by the People's Chamber is needed, otherwise it will prevent the social market economy.

Wollenberger insists that the right to housing must be above the right to property.

Eppelmann claims protection is needed for tenants.

Schmidt says justice, not only social justice is needed. People need to be attracted back to the GDR, including

former owners. But occupiers should have the opportunity to become the owners of the homes they occupy.

Endruweit believe the real question is power. Either we will sweep away the People's Chamber or the FRG will take over. That will mean a Fourth Reich and war.

Driebe thinks that even with a trade union law the GDR is still attractive enough to invest in.

Kirchner says ownership must be taken seriously. The questions are so complex, there are no simple answers.

Guegel believes as much power as possible must be passed to the grass roots. Property brings freedom. As much as possible must be privatized. Arrangements must be made to protect the socially vulnerable in the transitional period.

Buechel now introduces two new participants:

Christine Schenk, for the Independent Women's Association, replaces Wollenberger.

Michael Czollek, for the Carnations, replaces Seelig.

Buechel move on to the next question—work.

Driebe believes not all jobs can be secured. But jobs for all must be secured. Work creation programs must be considered.

Schmidt agrees that all jobs cannot be saved. Everyone who works hard should earn well. Medium-sized firms should be encouraged. These firms will create jobs. Job flexibility and mobility will be needed. There will be enough jobs.

Endruweit says jobs can be saved through the unity of the international working class and workers taking power. The strength of the GDR economy is stressed.

Kirchner backs the motivation and training of the GDR people. There will be a traditional period of unemployment. Retraining programs will be needed.

Eppelmann foresees problems. "This is the burden of the past." Trade must be encouraged. There must be new and efficient enterprises. Capital and know-how will be needed and they will come. "There are great economic prospects in the GDR." People should stay here, there will be plenty of good jobs, "prospects for people who want to work."

Ortleb says social spending must be financed by the market. There must be laws that flank the economy.

Czollek believes the position of the handicapped is being undermined. This cannot be prevented if a monetary and economic union is introduced from one day to the next. Preparatory moves are needed beforehand.

Schenk points out that many women, particularly single mothers, are concerned about their positions and jobs. A market economy is only concerned about profit. The IWA believes in the right to work, for women and men.

Gueter notes that with time running short, the participants are invited to outline what their first measures will be after 18 March.

Guegel says that the answer is federalism, in the context of all of Europe. A new constitution is needed, also for all of Europe.

Czollek thinks a social package is needed, with pension increases.

Schenk believes legal security needs to be reestablished. The law is not being adhered to. Pension reform is also needed.

Ortleb says everything possible should be done to bring about a monetary union.

Eppelmann believes representatives of the GDR and FRG should meet to discuss a monetary union.

Kirchner also aims for a monetary union as quickly as possible. Unification must be prepared. The GDR laender must be reestablished.

Endruweit wants the workers to govern the country.

Schmidt would like to secure pensions, bringing levels up to that in the FRG.

Driebe is aiming for a new Constitution, a referendum on unification, and grassroots democracy.

Buechel thanks the participants for attending.

7 Parties on Possible Stasi Electoral Fraud

LD1603202790 Hamburg DPA in German 1533 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Wiesbaden (DPA)—Seven democratic GDR parties in Thuringia have warned of a campaign "prepared a long time ago" by the GDR's State Security Service (Stasi) during the People's Chamber elections on Sunday. Most Stasi employees had many identities, i.e. several places of residence as well as identity documents, and thus documents entitling them to vote. The parties and associations therefore proposed marking voters' thumbs with dye when casting their votes, so that an individual could not vote many times.

The CDU [Christian Democratic Union], SPD [Social Democratic Party], Democratic Awakening, the DSU [German Social Union], the Green Party, New Forum, and the League of Free Democratic have signed a relevant appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, which the Hesse CDU circulated in Wiesbaden today. The parties assume that up to 20 percent of the votes cast could be influenced in this manner.

Body Fears Former Stasi Member Elections

LD1603225590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2058 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Fears that in the People's Chamber election former unofficial members of the State Security could be elected were expressed on Friday evening by members of the government commision for the disbandment of the former Office for National Security in Erfurt Bezirk. A statement read out before press representatives says that they had findings about such activities by top candidates of various parties in Erfurt Bezirk. However, because of their pledge of secrecy, they were unable to give precise details about persons and numbers.

The government commisison continued to proceed from the premise that personal data, including that about unofficial members of the former Office for National Security, would not be published. Other decisions could be made only by a democratically elected parliament. Because of their responsibility, and in view of the Schnur case, they sought to warn people about the dangers which could emanate from unrecognized former Stasi members in leading positions. The citizens are asked in the statement to vote for parties according to their programs and not according to their candidates.

One question as to whether in the meantime they had received information from the Hesse Office for the Protection of the Constitution about contacts between the general secretary of the CDR-CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and State Security was denied.

Their statement at such a short time before the election was explained by the citizen representatives from various parties, who said that they had found a relevant file only on Friday. The prime minister and the chairwoman of the election commission had been informed about this.

CDU's Kirchner Questioned on Stasi Links

LD1603180490 Hamburg DPA in German 1630 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Excerpt] East Berlin/Wiesbaden (DPA)—Martin Kirchner, general secretary of the GDR CDU [Christian Democratic Union], has admitted contacts with the former Ministry for State Security. However he did not work for Stasi [State Security]. The CDU answered a question from an ARD correspondent in East Berlin on whether he had worked for Stasi by saying that was something he "had not done".

"There was no cooperation but there were talks in the course of my church work, just as it was in every case that people were questioned here at one office or another," Kirchner said. The contacts were in connection with his work as Chairman of the Gera Council of Churches.

According to Kirchner, the talks with Stasi took place "during a few, sporadic visits" at the beginning of the 80's. However, he could not remember now what the talks were about. The CDU general secretary described the conversations as "contact talks". The content was "of little significance". It had apparently more served the purpose of "getting to know those concerned."

The Hesse State Office for the Protection of the Constitution received comprehensive information on Stasi links with Kirchner as well as with Wolfgang Schnur, chairman of Democratic Awakening (DA) who has meanwhile resigned, over a month ago. The information was given to the office by a single informant whose credibility has, however, not been checked, members of the Main Committee of the Hesse State Diet said today after a report to that body by Interior Minister Gottfreid Milde (CDU). [passage omitted]

CDU Spokesman on 'Absurd' Charges

LD1603180790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1714 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This afternoon, in reply to an ADN inquiry, Helmut Lueck, press spokesman of the GDR CDU [Christian Democratic Union], denied reports that CDU General Secretary Martin Kirchner is said to have maintained contacts with the former GDR state security service.

Helmut Lueck stated: "Some time ago General Secretary Kirchner rejected as really absurd preliminary attempts to accuse him of connections with the state security service. To wish to exert influence on the electoral behavior of the voters with such reports 36 hours before the opening of the polling stations is a maneuver which is only too transparent. The fact that the regional office for the protection of the Constitution in Hesse has itself admitted that the information was "offered" to it by an "informer" whose credibility has not been examined speaks against the originators of this confused game."

Confidential Gysi Letter to PDS Leaders Reported

AU1603111290 Hamburg BILD in German 16 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Text] He is polite. He is friendly. Gregor Gysi, 42, the chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism (formerly Socialist Unity Party of Germany), acts like a trustworthy person. This is nothing but a mask. BILD possesses a protocol that reveals Gysi's real intentions. It contains information for the cadres of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], which was released for confidential use on 5 March 1990 through the PDS bezirk leaderships. Gysi mentions, among other things, that attempts have been successful to mix the current list of the names of members of the Stasi state security system with the 1963 and 1978 lists, and to change the dates of birth in accordance with a random principle to ensure that all unofficial and official Stasi members who need protection will not be exposed to danger in the

event of German unification. Gysi also assured the comrades that the destruction of files stored in Salzgitter which incriminate the GDR is ensured for "the event X." He demands that comrades report the names of comrades who have joined other movements. PDS comrades should not "avoid leading positions in the economy. They will be needed later."

PDS Chairman Gysi had the following information released "for confidential use" on 5 March through the PDS bezirk leaderships. The comrades' queries and concerns about "their position" prompted Gysi to write this letter. The main points of the statements, which were recorded in a protocol by a former comrade, are as follows:

—The citizens' committees have no complete files of the names of the actual members of the Ministry for State Security. Attempts were successful to mix the current list of the names of members of the Stasi state security system with the 1963 and 1978 lists, and to change the dates of birth in accordance with a random principle to ensure that all unofficial and official Stasi members who need protection will not be exposed to danger in the event of German unification.

—Question concerning a threat that might emanate from Salzgitter (central registration office for judicial crimes of the GDR), "which has been raised frequently," cannot be answered sufficiently at this point. However, preparations have been made for the "event X" to ensure that both the originals and copies of the files stored there are destroyed through an external action. "Our forces" will be supported in this matter "by Soviet specialists."

—The principle of the continued payment of wages by enterprises can be maintained as long as the structure of the state enterprises exists. Every comrade "should be personally committed" to propagandizing the preservation of the current ownership structures and the rejection of a monetary union. In the event of the introduction of the monetary union, the continued payment of decentralized [dezentral] and unofficial members will become "considerably more difficult."

—Concerning the coalition issue, the following principle applies: All leftist parties, including the Alliance 90, are to be treated with indulgence. Gysi hopes that "the Schnur case" will induce the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the New Forum to make compromises "sooner or later." He demands that the comrades "report the names of comrades who have joined other movements and broken off contact."

—Questions concerning the statutes and the position of the PDS are to be answered in the following way: Marxism-Leninism continues to be valid as in the past. Questions concerning the party's power and the social position will continue to be answered in the old way. However, the economic lead of the West has made necessary temporary caution in public propaganda. "Statements on these issues are to be avoided currently."

—The alliance with the Soviet Union is intact. The supportive attitude of the troops deployed in this country in the dissolution of the Ministry for State Security testified to this. "More information cannot be provided at this point."

Gysi Denies Report on Stasi Files

LD1603192190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1758 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Gregor Gysi, the chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS], today rejected as "completely absurd" the accusations published in "BILD" newspaper according to which the PDS is said to have succeeded, among other things, in completely altering the list of names of the Stasi workers at random. According to "BILD," too, Gysi is said to have "assured the comrades that the destruction of the files incriminating the GDR stored in Salzgitter had been guaranteed 'in Case x'." In today's edition, the newspaper claimed to possess the minutes from 5 March 1990 on this which contains "information to the PDS cadres".

Gregor Gysi stated in reply to an ADN inquiry that there had been no discussion by the party executive on this issue, nor had there been a letter to the bezirk executives of the PDS. "In its desperation at not being able to get anything genuine about the PDS on this issue they obviously used these 'minutes'." The very thought of wishing to destroy the well-secured and not even available files in Salzgitter is absurd, Gysi said.

In a previous press statement, the PDS executive already rejected the claims made by the "BILD" newspaper as devoid of any foundation. The alleged minutes were, neither from the point of view of the level nor of the diction, in accordance with Gregor Gysi's style.

Foreign Ministry Statement on EC Links

LD1603175190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1550 GMT 16 Mar 90

["Statement by GDR Foreign Ministry on moving closer to EC"—ADN headline]

[Text] Brussels (ADN)—The text of the statement is as follows:

"The agreement between the GDR and the European Economic Community on trade and on cooperation relating to trade and economic cooperation was initialled on 13 March 1990.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR states the following in connection with the initialling:

With regard to:

—the emerging possibility of an economic and monetary union of the two German states,

—the objective necessity to bind this development in the pan- European process and in connection with this to further develop the relations of the GDR with the European Communities,
—the necessity of protecting legitimate interests of the parties in treaties of the two German states.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR welcomes the possibility opened up by the EC Commission itself for moving closer to the EC and the harmonization of already current processes with the prospect of membership and it proposes to conduct exploratory talks with the commission of the European Communities with the aim of discussing possible steps, consequences, and required measures related to the GDR moving closer to the European Communities leading to future membership.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR assumes here that the correlations and consequences between the creation of GDR-FRG economic and monetary union and GDR-EC relations are sufficiently taken into consideration in a close linkage of the exploratory talks with the consultations of the intra-German experts' commission.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR is of the opinion that such exploratory talks should begin soon."

USSR's Falin Favors German Peace Treaty

LD1603212890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2045 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Valentin Falin, head of the International Relations Department of the CPSU Central Committee and one of the closest advisors of Mikhail Gorbachev, has spoken out in favor of concluding a German peace treaty. In an exclusive article for the GDR weekly "DAS BLATT," excerpts of which were prereleased to ADN on Friday, Falin writes: "Any attempt to destroy or ignore the objective connection between German unification and the pan-European process threatens to break up the incipient or developing positive processes in Europe. The USSR cannot permit that."

Valentin Falin asks that World War II be considered finished, and that the state of legal uncertainty be ended. "For the new stage of postwar development, a peaceful European future, an exact legal basis must be created. Hence it is necessary to conclude a German peace treaty. Certain values and principles, above all those which concern the inviolability of frontiers, should be enshrined in it. That is a vital question both for Poland and the Soviet Union, both for Czechoslovakia and for Germany's neighbors in the West, North, and South."

Szuros, Nyers Cable Congratulations to Gorbachev

Szuros Message

LD1503201690 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—On behalf of the Republic of Hungary its government and people, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, has addressed a cable of greetings to Mikhail Gorbachev, on the occasion of his election as president of the Soviet Union.

"I wish you attain outstanding results in your high function in the democratic transformation of the Soviet Union, in the creation of a peaceful and secure world," runs the cable.

Nyers Message

LD1503201390 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 15 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, has cabled his greetings to Mikhail Gorbachev, on the occasion of his election as head of state of the Soviet Union.

Karpati Surveys Military Situation in Europe

AU1603100290 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 14 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati by Janos Szabo; place and date not given: "Hungary Wants Fewer Weapons"]

[Text] The pullout of a motorized infantry battalion on Monday [12 March] marks the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, which will be concluded by the end of June 1991. Janos Szabo, our correspondent in Budapest, discussed problems related to this withdrawal in an exclusive interview with the Hungarian defense minister, retired Colonel General Ferenc Karpati.

[Szabo] How do you assess the military situation in Europe?

[Karpati] Never in the course of history has such a large military potential been stockpiled as in the postwar period. The long period of confrontation was terrible for the continent. A hopeful development has taken place during the last two years. We have realized that stability in Europe cannot be ensured by arms, but can only be achieved by negotiations and by the countries creating a new security policy. Gorbachev's policy has given this process new dynamism. Thus we may believe now that there will not be another world war. However, I am well aware that we are only at the beginning of the process.

[Szabo] In what way does this development influence Hungary?

[Karpati] In a very favorable way, because Hungary has no serious problems, neither with its neighbors nor with other nations. So we do not have to keep substantial military forces. We can, for instance, live with a much smaller army than we did in the past. Therefore, we plan to carry out reductions of 35 percent by 1992. Further steps in this direction will be possible if the Vienna negotiations lead to a result. In addition, we want to spend much less for military purposes. Tank, artillery, and missile units must be reduced, while offensive weapons must be totally banned. A new defense concept will be drafted on a long-term basis.

[Szabo] Will the Hungarian position be oriented toward the Austrian model?

[Karpati] The Austrian example is very specific, because under the State Treaty, the country is bound to develop only certain military activities. In addition, Austria spends more money on military defense now than Hungary, in particular on military personnel. So we cannot compare the situation.

[Szabo] What do you think about German unification?

[Karpati] There is no doubt about it—German unification will come about. It is above all a matter of the Germans themselves. However, the European nations are also involved. They cannot be indifferent to the guarantees they will be given, or the type of Germany they will be dealing with. There are promises that war will never again start from German soil; however, the Federal Republic is a strong military power within NATO. Therefore, it must be decided whether a united Germany can continue within NATO. The decisive factor must be to maintain the European balance.

Medgyessy Queried on Emigration, Israel Ties

JN1603124590 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 14 Mar 90 p 21

[Interview with Peter Medgyessy, Council of Ministers deputy chairman, by Hatim Ghanim in Budapest; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Ghanim] When interests are involved, there are demands from the stronger party, naturally. We in the Arab world assume that there have been U.S. demands from Hungary in return for aid, such as the restoration of relations with Israel and facilitating Soviet Jewish emigration. This means that this is a matter of interests and pressures, in addition to the loans that Hungary seeks to obtain from the IMF. What do you think?

[Medgyessy] Allow me to say that there has been no "direct request" in this way. However, the Americans were very happy with the restoration of Hungary's relations with Israel. Still, we cannot offer help in reaching a solution to the Arab problem with Israel if we do not have diplomatic relations with Israel. Our position is unchanged. We continue to reject the seizure of land by

force. Moreover, the restoration of ties with Israel may give us the chance to contribute to solving the problem as we would by having relations with both sides. We should take into consideration that Hungary is located in the center of Europe, that this location affects the Jewish communities, and that there are a lot of Jews in Hungary. Therefore, the human relationships—family ties—should be restored. However, the resumption of diplomatic relations will not affect the general Hungarian position, which rejects the Israeli policy and agrees with the positions of a large number of world states. [passage omitted]

[Ghanim] It has been recently noted that high-level Hungarian delegations have visited Israel. What is the nature of the talks and the Israeli promises to Hungary? It has also been noticed that during the same period, less senior delegations visited Arab states. What does Hungary expect from Israel?

[Medgyessy] There is no political point behind the fact that a group of lower ranking officials visit Arab states while more senior officials visited Israel.

The chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers intended to visit Israel, but the visit was canceled.

[Ghanim] Why?

[Medgyessy] I personally intended to visit Egypt. We have elections ahead, and it is difficult for the cabinet members to pay visits under such circumstances. In fact, we expect and hope that economic and trade relations with the Arab states will be promoted. The aim of our relations with Israel per se is not a political one. The fact is that Jews in the world and in America have a certain weight, pressure, and influence. The restoration of relations with Israel will enable us to attract foreign capital, specifically from the United States, for investment here in Hungary. [passage omitted]

[Ghanim] It has been mentioned that Hungary offered to mediate between the PLO and Tel Aviv. How far have these efforts come and is there anything new in this regard? Do you personally believe that Hungary is capable of playing such a role?

[Medgyessy] Hungary's political position has been entrenched over the past two years. On the other hand, we have actually offered to mediate. If the two parties accept the offer, we are ready to go ahead; if they do not, we will do nothing. The choice is up to them.

[Ghanim] Reports say the percentage of Hungarian Jews emigrating to Israel is increasing. How do you comment?

[Medgyessy] Emigration from Hungary is permissible. This means anyone who wants to emigrate can do so. As for the increase in percentage, it is possible that there may be a very slight one, but it is almost negligible.

[Ghanim] Stringent security measures are being taken on the matter of Soviet Jewish emigration via Budapest, and this is a natural right and natural measure. But the news media are talking about the possibility of an Arab "terrorist" operation to check this emigration. Don't you think the Israeli intelligence, the Mossad, might exploit this and carry out an operation to harm Arab-Hungarian relations?

[Medgyessy] The Hungarian security service is taking care of this matter, and will prevent any Israeli or Arab operation. This is done to maintain relations. I would like to tell you that we get no great benefit from the Soviet Jewish emigration via Budapest, because the tickets are paid for in rubles. We have a large deposit of rubles and we do not know what to do with it. This deposit is continuously increasing, but the Malev Company benefits from this commercially.

[Ghanim] Israeli experts came to Budapest to teach the Hungarians money management and how to become capitalists. Is Hungarian-Israeli cooperation currently confined to consultants, or are there other areas? What is the nature of future relations between Israel and Hungary?

[Medgyessy] In fact, we do not expect much, because Israel is a small state and its capabilities are limited. We are really interested in training the Hungarian experts, and we expect help in this regard from other countries, not only Israel.

[Ghanim] The Soviet Union provides Hungary with 50 percent of its needs for energy products. What happens if Moscow reduces or stops its energy supplies to Hungary?

[Medgyessy] Regrettably, in the past, dependence on energy was confined to one side. We are now ready and have an alternative. If such a thing happens, we will buy Arab petroleum. In the meantime, we are planning to link the Hungarian electricity grid with the European one so that we can benefit from the European energy. As regards these two issues, we have taken the necessary steps to deal with any emergency.

[Ghanim] Thank you. I hope I have not taken up much of your time.

[Medgyessy] This is exactly the time specified for the meeting. Thank you.

Minister Defends Role in Soviet Jews' Emigration

JN1803201890 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 16 Mar 90 p 23

[Interview with Industry Minister Ferenc Horvath by Hatim Ghanim in Budapest; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Ghanim] Political and economic changes are taking place in Hungary. Can you give us an idea about the nature of these changes?

[Horvath] Large-scale changes began several years ago. At the same time, there have been very important

economic changes and reforms. It is an integrated process. The economic reforms in our country have reinforced political changes, democracy, and organizational measures. [passage omitted]

[Ghanim] The prevailing assumption is that Hungary has been exposed to Soviet pressure, and was promised aid from the United States to facilitate Soviet Jewish emigration. What do you have to say on this subject?

[Horvath] Nothing of the kind has happened. But I am not the foreign minister. I should say, however, that we have not received any aid from a third party to facilitate Jewish emigration. As I said, there is no hidden objective behind our contribution to emigration. Frankly speaking, and this is my personal opinion, any democratic society should make a contribution to human rights. Our help to the Soviet Jews is within this framework.

[Ghanim] You are talking about human rights. These Jews are Soviet citizens who are emigrating to occupied territories. Do not the Palestinians have human rights? Have not the Arabs protested to Budapest on this emigration?

[Horvath] Why should the Arabs protest? You should know that the Soviet Jews who want to leave and go to any place can do so, and that the USSR is the one encouraging them to emigrate. Nothing can prevent Hungary from helping them. How can we refuse to help them?

[Ghanim] But Budapest is helping the Soviet Jews go directly to Tel Aviv, and not anywhere else. We also support human rights, but we also say that they could go to any other place.

[Horvath] We are only a transit station, and it is up to them to go to any other place. We say that they should have the choice to go to wherever they want to go. We have no political objectives in this issue. The Hungarian authorities have no influence on the Jewish emigrants. They are free to go to the United States, to Vienna, or to any other place. A large number of Jews in Hungary have relatives in Israel. This is why there is an air link between Tel Aviv and Budapest. As far as I know, Bucharest will also operate direct flights with Tel Aviv in the near future. Prague will do the same thing. I would like to say that when they leave Budapest, the emigrants are free to go anywhere.

[Ghanim] But the emigrants cannot go anywhere, because each one of them has a one-way ticket to Tel Aviv. They are taken to Budapest where they wait at the airport amid strict security measures before going to Palestine.

[Horvath] Regarding security protection, we give that to anyone in Hungary. We have nothing to do with the destination of the emigrants.

[Ghanim] But these Jews do not have the choice to go anywhere but Tel Aviv.

[Horvath] Of course, because they have a one-way ticket to Tel Aviv. However, the tickets they obtain from Moscow are not Hungary's business. [passage omitted]

Szuros on Future Relations With Romania

LD1803092190 Budapest MTI in English 1645 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 17 (MTI)—"I see no possibility for turning a new leaf in Hungarian-Romanian relations until there is a legal settlement of the situation of the Hungarian community in Romania, in other words, that they are given the individual and collective rights, as well as autonomy in the field of culture, and safeguards for their national identity," said Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, in a statement to the Romanian MAGYAR SZO.

Mr Szuros would be ready to go on an official visit to Romania provided "we would be able to work out a good-neighbor declaration including the principles to be the future basis for good-neighbor relations based on equal rights."

"I think such a meeting should be preceeded by a thorough preparation. We should stop saying nice words to each other. As the time is ripe for taking specific measures, such as opening a chief consulate in Cluj-Napoca—if the Romanian side requests, it can open a consulate in Debrecen any time—or settling the issue of culture centres, free transport and small border traffic.

"The Hungarian community in Romania should be provided an access to books and newspapers from Hungary and other countries. A progress should be made in the issues raised earlier, including setting up universities, colleges and secondary schools for the Hungarian nationality.

"Until we achieve these, it will not be possible to make our bilateral relations friendly or good-neighbourly," said Mr Szuros in the statement.

Medgyessy Signs Cooperation Protocol With PRC

LD1803114590 Budapest MTI in English 1911 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—The fifth session of the Hungarian-Chinese mixed committee for economic, trade, technical and scientific cooperation drew to an end in Budapest on Saturday with signing a protocol. The document was signed by Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, and He Kang, Chinese minister of agriculture, co-chairmen.

The session surveyed the development of economic, trade, technical and scientific cooperation beween the two countries.

It also touched upon the results of the barter trade in 1989 and the forecasts for 1990.

It was pointed out as a progress that the clearing system in Swiss francs was to be replaced by a free currency system, effective on January 1991, in an attempt to open up new vistas in the development of bilateral trade. The conversion will be in line with the economic and foreign trade reforms in the pipeline in the two countries, and will also promote the development of bilateral trade in accordance with the possibilities and the international practice.

Horn on Promoting Ties with Taiwan, Hong Kong

LD1803152890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Our colleague Jozsef P. Szabo has interviewed Foreign Minister Gyula Horn in connection with a delicate question: Hungary-Taiwan and Hungary-Hong Kong relations.

[Begin recording] [Szabo] Let me ask you about some news which is very often circulated nowadays—most of all, in Asian papers from Taiwanese sources—that some sort of approach is possible between the Hungarian Republic and Taiwan, like the ties established between Hungary and South Korea.

[Horn] I can say that developing trade and financial relations with Taiwan started earlier on. I must add that all our steps have been shadowed by very firm antipathy and opposition on the part of the PRC.

We did not establish official, that is diplomatic or perhaps official political relations with Taiwan. We would like it if cooperation would widen and expand significantly with Taiwan which is not to the detriment of the relations with the PRC. I consider that certain Chinese leaders handle this question rather illiberally and perhaps they do not take into sufficient consideration the fact that times have changed.

Let me tell you something else which is perhaps of more importance than the question of Taiwan. More and more Hong Kong businessmen come to us with the request that they would like to settle in Hungary with their capital. Well, they are afraid of 1997 when Hong Kong will be annexed to China and they are looking for a place in the world, including Hungary. In my opinion, every such proposal or request has to be examined positively and constructively.

I have a feeling that South Korea, Japan, and now Thailand would like it more and more if Hungary were to become a kind of center from where they carry out their activities toward the other countries of Central and East Europe and to a certain extent, even toward West Europe. Interest is extraordinarily great, and to my mind, the Hungarian Republic can only gain by letting in capital, the most advanced technology and techniques, and by creating commercial and other enterprises which will organize their business activity here in Hungary.

Let me put this another way: We used to say that it was a curse of Hungary that for centuries it has been like a house with a passageway. Why should we not turn this to our advantage, to a positive direction? Thus Hungary's transit location could be utilized for the enrichment and gain of the country, it could act as a go-between for us and between those Asian countries and other parts of Europe, and the country would only gain from this. [end recording]

Nemeth Meets With FRG's Lothar Spaeth

LD1803113590 Budapest MTI in English 1858 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in parliament on Saturday evening with Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wurttemberg, FRG, and members of his entourage, in Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

They held an exchange of views on the European situation, the developments in Eastern Europe, including Hungary, and surveyed relations between Hungary and the FRG, and Hungary and Baden- Wurttemberg.

Then, Mr Nemeth hosted a gala dinner in the honour of Herr Spaeth.

FRG's Spaeth, Austria's Riegler at MDF Rally

LD1803114190 Budapest MTI in English 1940 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—This time it was the foreign speakers who held the spotlight at the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [HDF—MDF] election rally in Budapest on Saturday.

Following the opening address by Jozsef Antall, president of HDF, Joseph Riegler, Austrian vice chancellor and president of the Austrian People's Party, was to deliver an address, in which he stressed his country's and party's wish to help the Hungarian people that had entered the path to self-determination also in seeking admission to the European Community.

He stressed that the goals of his party and the Hungarian Democratic Forum had a lot in common, as both fight for a liberal market economy and providing the individual with a chance of economic advance.

Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wurttemberg, FRG, and vice president of Christian Democratic Union, passed on the greetings of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He also pointed out that Baden-Wurttemberg also wished to play a part in restructuring Hungary. He expressed hope that our grandchildren would live in a Europe which will have long forgotten miliary blocs.

Frans Ludwig Graf von Stauffenberg, chairman of the legal committee of the European Parliament and son of the executed hero of the attempt against Hitler, said he

hoped to welcome the Hungarians not only on this occasion, but also in the European Parliament.

His initiative to record in German history books the fact that, last August, it was Hungary that opened its borders for GDR citizens wishing to go to the FRG, was greeted by huge applause.

Nagy on Intelligence Organization, Activities

AU1603145290 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 12 Mar 90 p 4

[Report on interview with National Security Office Chairman Lajos Nagy by Attila Schmidt; place and date not given: "A Personality-Control Office To Be Set Up"]

[Text] How long has a secret service been active in Hungary? It is difficult to give an exact answer, including an exact date. However, whether we like it or not, we Hungarians have also been part of the "team-work" of the world's secret services for a long time. We asked Lajos Nagy about the methods of the newly reorganized Hungarian intelligence and counterintelligence activity.

[Nagy] There are four services within the National Security Office. These services carry out special tasks. The Information Office deals with intelligence. As is well known, every country's government needs such information in order to make certain decisions which other countries treat confidentially. The task of the intelligence activity is to obtain reliable information for the government.

[Schmidt] Do we also have a military secret service?

[Nagy] Yes, there is a military intelligence and counterintelligence section in every country which has an army. Although their names might be different, these services have similar tasks: They carry out reconnaissance activity in the directions where some kind of threat is expected. Naturally, under the current conditions, this does not necessarily mean the threat of an armed conflict. In Hungary, this service is called the Military Security Office.

[Schmidt] What organization deals with preventing terrorist attacks and generally with domestic security tasks?

[Nagy] After eliminating the famous III/III department, we created a constitutional defense office mainly on the model of a similar office in the FRG.

[Schmidt] Is this office in charge of the domestic intelligence?

[Nagy] Yes, but to be quite precise, it works under the name of the Consitutional Defense Main Department in the framework of the National Security Office. Among other things, this department is in charge of defending important government institutions, except those institutions that belong to the sphere of the Military Security Service.

[Schmidt] Is this physical defense, that is, only guard duty?

[Nagy] No. It is the task of the government guard to defend the important government institutions. The Constitutional Defense Main Department is in charge of the operative defense, and it has to create counterintelligence positions in these institutions, with which it is possible to discover the special interest of foreign intelligence agencies in the institution in question. It is also the task of this department to provide personal security to important government figures.

[Schmidt] Who has the right to personal defense?

[Nagy] At the moment, the interim president of the republic and the premier. Persons who could find themselves in a threatened position due to their public activity, like the former foreign minister, could ask for personal guards, or the government guard can offer them protection. It is true that the number of guarded persons has decreased; however, we must also provide security to foreign visitors.

[Schmidt] Does this office have a heretofore unknown department?

[Nagy] On a Western model, we are organizing a separate department in charge of defending and supervising people in particularly important and confidential positions, with their knowledge. There are some very important positions, and we must thoroughly investigate the people aspiring to or already fulfilling such positions. For example, if someone is nominated in the position of prime minister, we must know his weaknesses. Alcoholics, womanizers, or drug addicts cannot have such a position (a good example is the case of the mayor of Washington). Therefore, our office carries out a close investigation of the personality of the candidate for his own good and with his consent. This is one of the conditions of this position.

[Schmidt] Has the secret service carried out such investigation?

[Nagy] Not yet, because the positions to be investigated have not yet been determined, nor do we have a law on this; however, taking into consideration the Western practice, we have begun preparations for this sensitive task. This department will probably be called the Office of Investigation of Personal Security.

[Schmidt] What organization is in charge of the operative investigation of people requesting refugee status?

[Nagy] This task will also be carried out by the Constitutional Defense Department. We have recently uncovered one of the former Securitate agents.

[Schmidt] Newspaper reports had it that the former Securitate agent gave himself up voluntarily. Is this not true?

[Nagy] This Securitate agent came to Hungary several times. The Securitate also used him in Romania to observe the Hungarians and discover their contacts. After the revolution, this agent thought he had finally left the secret service, but he was again contacted around 10 January and sent to Hungary. As he himself put it, he got fed up with spying against us, and therefore, he came to Hungary amongst the first people who had gotten passports, and asked for political asylum.

[Schmidt] How was the Romanian spy caught?

[Nagy] Earlier, at the instruction of his contact, he wrote on the form that he had served in a building unit in the army. This time, perhaps by accident, he wrote his real unit, the intelligence unit. Therefore, he became suspicious to our counterintelligence, and, confronted with proof during his interrogation, he admitted that he was in fact a Romanian agent. In other words, he did not give himself up voluntarily. He was happy that the Hungarian counterintelligence treated him as a human being. He had got used to even being beaten up by his Romanian contacts. He said that nothing has changed in the Romanian secret service. They continue to work against us.

[Schmidt] Can we expect an increase in spying activity against us?

[Nagy] According to professionals who do deal with counterintelligence, we must count on an increase in foreign intelligence activity in Hungary, but this is not always hostile in nature, because those businessmen who want to invest capital in Hungary are curious to know our real economic, political, and other situation. Therefore, they gather information through the intelligence services. Thus, it is in the interest of the government to strengthen our counterintelligence activity. No matter how advantageous the political conditions are today, the secret services continue to work, and in their world, everyone is somebody's enemy.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Series on Plans for Future

Trade Minister Beck

AU1903084690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Mar 90 p 10

[Report on interview with Trade Minister Tamas Beck by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "This Work Is Not For Me"]

[Text] The countdown has begun, and the following question is topical on the eve of the elections: What will the current ministers do after the expected government change? Today in our series we publish an interview with Tamas Beck.

[Beck] I am a graduate machine and economic engineer. Following my graduation from the Technical University, I worked in various factories in the CSSR for one year, and in the seventies, I worked at a U.S. university for two years. My work abroad also helped me to learn languages and I am able to make simultaneous translations in English, German, and Czech any time. After my return, I worked in the textile industry for 35 years. I began as a development engineer, and reached the position of general manager. I received the Eotvos and State Prize for my activity.

As a chairman of the Trade Chamber elected by secret ballot, I thought I would be able to do something from "within" for the market and the industry. I was wrong. I condemn the restrictive and fiscal financial policy conducted by the Hungarian Government for almost 10 years. In my view, the greatest problem lies in the fact that the highest leadership echelons have generally lost contact with everyday practice. If they are not practical, they are far from reality. As the chairman of the Economic Chamber, I asked my guests from successful countries about their careers. For example, Turkish Deputy Premier Kaya Erdem worked in a sugar processing plant for 10 years; the Netherlands deputy premier worked in the machine industry; and U.S. Trade Secretary Mosbacher spent all his life in agriculture. These people know what they can expect. A transportation minister cannot be a debate partner to a ship commander on how much time a 300-tonnes tanker needs to turn around in the harbor.

[Szep] Thus, after the elections....

[Beck] I would like to deal with industrial development, investments, and economic ventures. I have several good proposals, but I have not yet decided. In any case, I would like to see the results from my own activity.

[Szep] You have had little success?

[Beck] I have struggled with a lot of problems. For example, the bad system within CEMA leads to an economic collapse, and our trade surplus accounted in rubles is catastrophic. Or take our trade accounted in convertible currency. We have had a positive trade balance in the past two years, but at what price? We sold our foodstuffs for next to nothing. I could not carry out my concepts because the enterprises are fully independent. We no longer have a planned economy, but we do not yet have a market economy. There has never been such a transition in world history which required a simultaneous development of a pluralist democracy and a market economy.

[Szep] Would you not be sorry to give up your ministerial position?

[Beck] This work is not for me. I like to deal with specific things and I miss life in the enterprises. I worked at the Budaflax Enterprises for 17 years, and I think I made a successful firm out of it. I am interested in such tasks.

Justice Minister Kulcsar

AU1603131290 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Mar 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "I Would Like To Continue Everything I Have Started"]

[Text] The countdown has begun, and the following question is topical on the eve of the elections: What will the present ministers do after the expected government change? In our series, today we publish an interview with Kalman Kulcsar.

Kalman Kulcsar regards his appointment as justice minister as a "birthday present." He turned 60 two days before his appointment. With his colleagues in the Academy of Sciences, he had been working on the development of the new political system and the new legal order for a long time, and he wanted to implement these principles as a member of the government. He compares today's transition period to the decades after the compromise [with Austria in 1867]. At that time,too, most justice ministers were university professors and scientists who endeavored to develop a constitutional state. However, at the time, they emphasized the formal aspects, in accordance with the concepts of those times; today, a consitutional state is based on constitutional principles, and this concept has gained substance.

[Kulcsar] The former premier, Karoly Grosz, asked me to participate in the government. In practical terms, I had a free hand, and I also had the opportunity to select my own staff, but I repeatedly had to struggle for my ideas against rigid concepts and old ideological elements. Karoly Grosz generally accepted my opinions, but we also had spectacular differences in some cases. If I recall correctly, at the beginning of November 1988, I announced at a press conference that the government had accepted the draft bill on a future multi-party system in Hungary. However, two weeks later, at his famous speech in the sports hall in Budapest, the premier said that he could only envisage socialism within the framework of a one-party system. The phones started to ring immediately and foreign journalists kept coming in, but what can one say in such a case? The premier "envisaged" it that way. Finally, the bill was adopted and the multi-party system was accepted by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], and, even if we have problems, we are now approaching free elections.

[Szep] Have you succeeded in carrying out all your ideas?

[Kulcsar] In many cases, I would have preferred another solution. In any case, I would have preferred a stronger president of the Republic elected by the population. Some opposition parties thought that direct elections would benefit the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] because they feared that this was the way the MSZP wanted to preserve its power. This fear led to the referendum decision on scrapping the direct presidential election. Finally, the parliament recognized that I was right. I would have preferred a two-chamber parliament, but almost nobody supported this. It has now become clear that such a parliament is necessary. Unfortunately, we failed to reach the necessary political consensus for a new constitution, so we modified the old one; this is an adequate modern constitution, albeit not perfect, for the period of transition. This parliament adopted several important laws, and thus it actually created the institutions and legal basis of a constitutional state. We are now working on a new law on a system of independent judges and prosecutors, but its conclusion, as well as other laws will be the task of the new government.

[Szep] Would you accept a position in the new government?

[Kulcsar] I fear I will hardly have such a choice, although I would like to continue everything I have started. I do not intend to try and hold onto the position of minister, but I consider it extremely important to have a leadership in the justice ministry which is able to conclude all the things we have started, a ministry in which I personally invested a lot of energy in the past one and a half years, to say nothing of my previous research activity. All this requires knowledge, experience, and prestige. What comes to mind is Winston Churchill's thoughts when he realized that he had lost the elections: "I was not given the chance to take my share in shaping the future of the world. All the knowledge and experience I have accumulated, and all the prestige and sympathy I enjoy in so many countries are now wasted." Even if I cannot continue working in one of the key positions of our legal life, I still have my university position at home, and perhaps also abroad. My academic plan is to analyze the political and sociological aspects of this period of transition. It is very rare that a researcher has the opportunity to closely watch political developments by also participating in the decisionmaking process.

[Szep] Has the invitation to the conference of justice ministers of the European Council been extended to you, or to any Hungarian justice minister?

[Kulcsar] I think I was invited on the basis of my colleagues' impressions during their visits to Hungary; several of my Western colleagues visited me, and, if I may be immodest, my first appearance in The Hague caused a stir. My contacts have been strong ever since, and I am invited to many places. I can say today that the Hungarian Justice Ministry has prestige in Europe, and perhaps elsewhere. It is a good feeling that I had the opportunity to do something for this prestige, and I would not like my work to be wasted.

Acting Interior Minister Gal

AU1903084590 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Mar 90 p 5

[Report on interview with State Secretary Zoltan Gal, acting interior minister, by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "I Am Not Working Today for Tomorrow"]

[Text] The countdown has begun, and the following question is topical on the eve of the elections: What will

the current ministers do after the expected government change? Today in our series of interviews we publish an interview with Zoltan Gal.

Dr Zoltan Gal has taken over the leadership of a not too popular ministry, and at a difficult time. As a consequence of the Hungarian "Watergate" affair, Zoltan Gal took over the ministry from his boss who resigned and retired. Zoltan Gal did not move into the elegant former bank manager residence, and he kept his state secretary office.

[Gal] We began to reorganize the Interior Ministry together with and under the leadership of the former interior minister, and a new organization is essential for our constitutional state. We have not yet finished this activity. Among other things, we will separate the police from the ministry. In our concept, the minister is the link between the National Police Headquarters and the government. In addition, we want to set up an efficient national security service directly subordinated to the government of the day.

[Szep] What are your plans for the future?

[Gal] When you called me up, I asked for time to be able to think things over, but I have not yet come to any decision. I try to avoid pondering the future so that I can deal exclusively with the current tasks. The interior minister will change with the government anyway. I am a determined member of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and the elections will tell whether this party gets into the government coalition or not, where the various ministries will obviously be divided among the parties following tough negotiations; however, I do not yet know the relevant rules of the game. From this point of view, irrespective of my future position, I am at present not working for the future.

[Szep] You graduated from a law school; do you want to use this law degree after the elections?

[Gal] I have always been attracted to public law. Perhaps this explains the fact that I have always worked in areas related to politics: first, in the Public Employee's Trade Union, and later in the Political College, from where I went into the "White House" where I did not make much of a career. From a political staff member of the Department of Public Administration, I made it to the position of head of a department. Today, most of the state apparatus is already performing new jobs. Economists are especially sought after. There is greater need for them today.

[Szep] Are you threatened by unemployment?

[Gal] I cannot completely exclude this possibility. We will see....

Defense Minister Karpati

AU1603131690 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "I Did My Share"]

[Text] The countdown has begun, and the following question is topical on the eve of the elections: What will the present ministers do after the expected government change? Today in our series we publish an interview with Ferenc Karpati.

According to representatives of most parties, Karpati will not be a member of the new government, although recently he has been one of the ministers who has reacted quickly to the changes: Think of the introduction of alternative military service, the 35 percent reduction in the personnel of the Hungarian Army by 1992, the expected reduction of military service to 12 months, the Romanian events, the modification of the defense law, and the preparation of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary.

[Karpati] According to the modified defense law, it is not essential for the defense minister to be a military man, and by no means will he command the Army directly, or deal with administration and legislation. He must create the conditions absolutely essential for the balanced activity of the Army. A military man or a civilian? The law does not stipulate this. In the West, the defense minister is generally a civilian. No matter what leadership will take over the Defense Ministry in the new government coalition, the president of the Republic will be the direct commander of the Army.

[Szep] What about your future?

[Karpati] My future does not bother me now; instead, I am dealing with the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. I concentrate all my attention on making sure that this task is carried out in a balanced way, in a country that is going through really great changes today. I did my share. I am 64 years old. I have been a parliamentary deputy for 20 years. I will focus on my own interests after the government change. I have two sons, and before you ask, I will tell you that they have already finished their military service. I also have three grandchildren. My oldest grandchild is a five and a half year-old boy, followed by a three year-old girl, and another three year-old granddaughter from my other son.

[Szep] Does this mean that you are not interested in the results of the elections?

[Karpati] I am also excited about the elections. I would like to see democratic socialism win and and save the country from extremists and from shocks. There are parties which demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary in an offensive manner, trying to win voters with this behavior. However, these parties were a

little late on this issue. More than a year ago, recognizing the changes in Europe, I saw neither military nor political reasons for the continued presence of Soviet troops in Hungary. Unfortunately, the government at the time was not consistent enough. Time has proved that I was right.

Ruble Export Ban Harms Vehicle Industry

LD1603151590 Budapest MTI in English 1012 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 16, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The rouble export squeeze the Hungarian Government introduced earlier this year precipitated the country's major vehicle builders into crisis.

Ikarus coachbuilding factory and its principal suppliers—Csepel automotive factory, which makes the chassis and gears, and Raba, the Hungarian railway carriage and machine factory, which contributes the engines—are in a critical situation.

The Hungarian Government has, for some time now, been pressing companies that rely predominantly on rouble markets to get things moving in the way of redirecting sales from Eastern to Western markets. About a year ago, the Nemeth government came up with an economic package which envisages drastic changes in the foreign market priorities of the Hungarian economy.

The prospects it holds out for Hungarian companies are that rouble sales opportunities will shrink dramatically in the short run, in view of the fact that neither the Soviet Union nor the other Comecon countries can deliver more goods to Hungary.

In recent years, Hungary has made considerable gains in terms of trade with other Comecon countries and the Soviet Union in particular, because of the drop in energy prices. The gains in terms of trade amounted to 2 per cent in 1989.

In order to maintain the usual level of exports, Hungary would need to import more from the Comecon countries, which it cannot do for lack of appropriate goods.

On the other hand, in view of its staggering, 20.7-billion-dollar gross convertible debt, Hungary simply cannot afford to grant loans to its East European trade partners.

Since, however, the government never backed up its requests with appropriately stiff measures, companies continued to play for time, and put off restructuring, long overdue, which, incidentally, would be rather an uprooting business for manufacturers that sell up to 90 per cent of their output to Comecon markets: Ikarus and Csepel fall into exactly this category.

Since precious little happened outside the prognoses, by last year, Hungary was faced with a crippling rouble current account surplus of 1.6 billion roubles. The surplus with the Soviet Union ran to 800 million roubles.

But despite the dark clouds, most company managers were complacent, assuming that somehow or other, they would manage to trick or coax the government into allowing deliveries to the Soviet market to get back to normal, at least in the first half of the year. Quite obviously, the rouble export squeeze came to them like a bolt out of the blue.

True, the government is not blameless in the matter, either, since it should have taken the measure last year.

In the face of repeated warnings that any drastic measure could cost 100,000 vehicle industry workers their jobs, the government put off the painful decision until the last moment, giving grounds for prefectly unfounded optimism among rouble-market-centred companies.

These companies still continue to press the government for central funds to back their restructuring efforts.

But on the one hand, the government doesn't have a single penny to spare, and on the other, it is convinced that market means should be used to make companies see reason.

While the debate rolls on, both Csepel automotive factory and Ikarus, with its capacity of 12,000 buses a year, have cut production drastically.

Now both the government and the companies hope to be able to get their breath back after the Hungarian-Soviet trade agreement is signed.

This will probably be by the end of this month, provided the parties can agree on the ways and means of settling the Hungarian current account surplus of 800 million roubles.

Hungary wants the Soviet Union to settle the bill in dollars, and talks are now focussing on what conversion rate to use.

However, Ikarus stands little hope of getting back to full-steam production even after an agreement is reached.

It will probably be able to secure orders from Eastern Europe for 50-60 per cent of its capacity at most.

And it's anybody's guess who'll actually foot the bill for the costs of switching over to Western markets.

SZDSZ's Janos Kis Speaks at Election Rally

LD1803100890 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—"The March 25 election will be not one in many, as it will decide over the fate of the country. The question is whether Hungary will be able to achieve democratic transformation and become part of Europe, stressed, among other things, Janos Kis, acting president of the National Council of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD) [SZDSZ], at the party's election rally held in Szombathely on Saturday.

Mr Kis said the election would be won by two parties, the AFD and the Hungarian Democratic Forum. The AFD should become the number one party in thue new parliament, he said. After the elections, when the new government enters office it should declare the independence of the country.

Mr Kis stressed "we are not willing to join a government which has members of any successor parties to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. The AFD wants the communists to go into opposition."

The AFD has also objections to Imre Pozsgay, Miklos Nemeth and Gyula Horn, as they received information on parties, including the AFD, acquired in an illegal manner early this year.

MSZP's Pozsgay Addresses Election Rally

LD1803101190 Budapest MTI in English 1655 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 17 (MTI)—"The Socialist Party [HSP—MSZP] is a democratic party, which puts the nation's interests and the need for stability above anything else in the election campaign."

"The Socialist Party is ready to cooperate with any sober, moderate and competent force in the future legislation and government," stressed, among other things, Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSP presidium, at the party's election rally held in Gyor on Saturday.

"Every citizen can see from the political attitude of the socialists that no peaceful transition would have been possible without the socialist party, and that this quiet revolution could not have taken place in this negotiatory manner either," said Mr Pozsgay.

MSZP Rally in Budapest Hears Rezso Nyers

LD1803030890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Report by correspondent Laszlo Szente on speech by Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), at MSZP election rally in the Budapest district of Kispest—date not given]

[Excerpts] Rezso Nyers, chairman of the MSZP, started his speech in Kispest a little after 1100 [1000 GMT] in the square near the party building. [passage omitted]

We are living in times when our destiny is being changed, said Rezso Nyers. New institutions are being created, living and working conditions are changing. We are witnesses to the birth of a new parliamentary democracy. We are on the right path, but it is another question, he added, what price we will have to pay for the lesson.

After this he summarized the merits of the recently concluded parliament and the outgoing government. According to him, in the past year, or year and a half, the basis of a new constitution has been created. New international contacts have been born, and it was this government which opened the path to Romanian and East German refugees. This parliament and government will go down in history as the government and parliament which took down the Iron Curtain. At the same time, Rezso Nyers acknowledged that his party, as the successor of the earlier Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is responsible for mistakes. But, he emphasized, nobody should forget that at the same time, they are the ones who initiated the changes and have stuck by them to this very day.

Poszgay Addresses MSZP Rally in Bacs-Kiskun

LD1603225490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Of the nearly 30 election rallies, so far we have only news from the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] rally in Baja, where Imre Pozsgay, leading the county list, made a speech. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports from the county of Bacs-Kiskun:

[Begin Ladanyi recording] There are fashionable parties on the market of political ideas, but I am hoping, Imre Pozsgay said, that young people will soon come to stand behind us, since nonconformism is in their nature. Talking about the situation following the elections, he said he would regard the new government as being really strong if the MSZP plays a powerful and decisive role. In a secondary, subordinate capacity it cannot accept responsibility for government since in that case it could not have a real role in decision-making. At the same time, it accepts whatever the outcome of the elections may be, Imre Pozsgay emphasized. Talking about the coalition, he added, it will be ready to cooperate with every valid political force in a new parliament which is devoid of extremists, but it is also ready to take on the role of a constitutional opposition.

His comment about the political cleansing process is that we lived through the history allocated to us, the forces which represented themselves as standing for purity and public good in history so far have always brought terror and tyranny. The socialists are denying this Jacobin tradition and dictatorship and do not wish to assist in the establishing of a new dictatorship, he said. [end recording]

Private Radio Station Opens in Budapest

LD1603142990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] The first English-speaking privately owned commercial radio in East Europe and in Hungary is Radio Bridge, which started broadcasting today at 1330 on VHF 102.1 MHZ. You will now hear Gyorgy Pomedansi, director of Radio Bridge:

[Begin Pomedansi recording] This is an old radio station. It first broadcast nearly a year ago when President Bush visited Hungary. In the meantime, since this firm is run by

private individuals, we had no money to broadcast programs. But now the firm is operational again and we sincerely hope that we will be permitted to operate properly.

This is not the Voice of America, but Radio Bridge. We have a contract with the Voice of America, VOA. That perhaps sounds a bit milder for everybody regardless of their party membership. A small radio company such as ours is, perhaps, entitled to determine its partners.

As far as we know, we have a [broadcasting] permit, and this permit was given to us well before the moratorium. We believe that if the written press can be published without previous application then perhaps a private radio company can also appear on the air, considering especially that we do not just want to mess about but want to establish a bridge by means of a system which, like it or not, is universally used in political, cultural, and economic life. [end recording]

Senate Resolution Welcomes Independent Lithuania

LD1603183690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1433 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Speech by Foreign Affairs Commission Chairman Professor Ziolkowski at Senate session in Warsaw—live relay]

[Excerpts] Madam Speaker. May it please the house. The Foreign Affairs Commission wants to put forward two issues. One is a piece of information concerning a telegram sent to the GDR and FRG Governments at the beginning of March this year, by 24 U.S. senators, on the subject of the Polish western frontier. [passage omitted]

That's the first issue. The second concerns a proposal submitted by a dozen or so of our fellow senators, that the Senate should take a stance with regard to the recent resolution of the Lithuanian Republic's Supreme Soviet. This issue was the subject of deliberations in a meeting of our commission, and during the discussion, to which we also invited several of the initiators of this measure, we reached the following conclusion: The results that you have before you, ladies and gentlemen require that the Senate of the Polish Republic pass a resolution with precisely this text. Allow me to read it:

Responding to the appeal by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic to the nations of the world, proclaiming the continuity and independence of the Lithuanian state, and its return to the family of free countries, the Senate of the Polish Republic welcomes the great transformations in the life of this fraternal country with joy. Freedom and independence are fundamental values, which our nations fought for for whole generations. We believe that free Lithuania will be able to develop successfully and live in peace and friendship with all its neighbors. [applause]

Various Parties Greet Lithuanian Declaration

LD1603225190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Representatives of various political forces in our country and society are expressing their approval, support, and solidarity with Lithuania, following their declaration of independence.

The Provisional Main Board of the Labor Party has greeted with joy the declaration of Lithuania's independence by the Lithuanian parliament.

Activists of the Polish Peasant Party in a telegram to Vitautas Landsbergis express their admiration for the Lithuanians' defending their national dignity.

A similar telegram was sent to the chairman of the Supreme Council and the prime minister of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania by deputies from the Democratic Party parliamentary floor group.

The news about the declaration of Lithuania's independence was received with satisfaction by the board of the mid-eastern region of the Independent Self-governing Trade Union Solidarity.

Walesa Gives News Conference in Gdansk

LD1603144890 Warsaw PAP in English 2255 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Gdansk, March 15—Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa held a press conference at the Northern Shipyard in Gdansk today.

On Gorbachev's Election

Commenting on the election of Mikhail Gorbachev as president of the Soviet Union, Walesa quoted his congratulatory cable in which he stated that it was an expression of Soviet society's confidence in the policy of perestroyka initiated by him.

Walesa stressed that in his opinion, one of the basic principles of that policy is the recognition of national aspirations of each of the ethnic groups living in the Soviet Union. In Walesa's opinion, the Soviet Union should transform itself into a free confederation of nations. The faster this will take place, the lower will be the costs, said he.

I admire Gorbachev, and I would like to help in the reforms which are needed by the world. A secure development of the Soviet Union is in the interest of us all.

On Independent Lithuania

Speaking on the independence of Lithuania, Walesa said that this fact filled him with satisfaction. At the same time I would like for the Lithuanians to take into consideration the interests of the Polish minority, said Walesa.

On Meeting With Havel

Asked on the topics to be discussed with Vaclav Havel during a meeting planned for March 17, Walesa said he will have enough time to choose the topics during his trip to the region of the Karkonosze Mountains. I know that there are a number of threats. We are departing from the same system.... We have to settle how to take advantage of the European means and possibilities, which are also needed by them and by us. We have to settle how to move on together and at the same time independently not interfering in each others affairs. Up to now Poland leads in reforms. Though Czechoslovakia has a new driver, we have a better repaired vehicle. We have cadres, experiences and even achievements. this may be useful to them.

Walesa also referred to accusations of excessive pro-German sympathies. I paid for the war with the loss of my father, thus I also do not have any sentiments. But if there is to be a new Europe, than it cannot do without Germans. If Germans were to "start anew"—the world

will destroy them to their roots so they would never pose a threat to mankind, said Walesa.

End of Honeymoon

During a discussion with yard workers, Walesa said: I cannot be responsible for the government which you have elected. The honeymoon has ended between us and the government. Let the government do its job, leave the union in peace. It should not count on leniency. Of course we had to support it, for it did not have a base or any party, but now we should part or in other case we will together create a new monopoly.

After the traditional voting ending Walesa's meetings with workers, two yard workers who voted "against" were asked by Walesa to explain their stand.

One of them accused Walesa of demagogy stating that society's task is to work and government's to rule, and that it is impossible for the entire society to actively participate in the political life.

The second worker argued that despite slogans of political pluralism, not all organizations have equal possibilities to function and voice their opinion, while Solidarnosc itself is pushed into positions of a political party.

Walesa rejected those accusations. He stressed he strives, through the Citizens' Committee, to expand the plane of the political discussion and agreement. To this end he appointed Zdzislaw Najder as head of the committee, who is approved by broad political circles.

Walesa Explains Solidarity Policy

LD1803131190 Warsaw PAP in Engish 2003 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 17: Lech Walesa today met with representatives of the Silesia-Dabrowa chapter of Solidarnosc at the Powstancow Slaskich coalmine in Bytom.

He explained that the current policy of Solidarnosc changed because it was not the same as in 1981. Much has also changed in the country. We have our government, a vast majority of senators but at the same time there are less of us.

I wish to maintain the course on backing the government till the national congress. At the congress we will decide in what we support it, what is good in its proposals and in what we differ and to what extent we do not accept its program, Walesa said.

Walesa Meets CSSR's Havel; Communique Issued

LD1703235190 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 17 Mar 90

[By Pritr Jazwinski]

[Text] Jelenia Gora, March 17—Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa and Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel began their meeting in the Karkonoska Pass on the Polish-Czechoslovak border today by shaking hands before a group of several hundred tourists.

The meeting took place at the initiative of the Polish-Czechoslovak Solidrnosc whose members accompanied both politicians during their four-hour talks. Walesa's entourage included Bronislaw Geremek and Adam Michnik.

For many years the Karkonosze Mountains on the Polish-Czechoslovak border were a venue for the meetings of the-then dissidents from both countries.

Walesa and Havel held the first round of their talks in the Czechoslovak "Spindlerova Bouda" mountain shelter.

Following lunch at the Spindlerova Bouda, Walesa and Havel moved on to the Polish mountain shelter "Odrodzenie" nearby. A joint communique was adopted at the conclusion of the talks and signed by Havel and Walesa.

Communique (Excerpts)

Central and Eastern Europe stand in the face of tremendous hopes. The task of all is to turn these hopes into reality. In our view the following is called for:

First, to preserve the most important traits of our struggle as exemplified by the Polish-Czechoslovak struggle for human rights and solidarity in the broadest meaning of the term.

Second, to coordinate in this spirit not only our strivings for democratic order in our countries but also our return to Europe as a friendly union of free nations and democratic, independent countries.

Third, to square accounts as soon as possible and definitely with all the deplorable effects of World War Two. The obvious element of such a settlement must be the final confirmation of the current border in Europe, borders which no one should ever question and which at the same time should become increasingly open and accessible.

Fourth, fully respect the rights of all nations to self-determination, including the right to restore statehood and at the same [time] ensure respect for the rights of national, cultural, religious, poltical and civic minorities under principles of mutual understanding, tolerance and renunciation of violence.

That is why we support all the favourable proposals, including the proposal to set up a Helsinki civic assembly, as an instrument of social diplomacy. The future of all of Europe, our common, great fatherland depends on how fast and how effectively we can turn words into deeds.

At the end of the meeting Lech Walesa and Vaclav Havel met with nearly 100 journalists for a joint press conference. Excerpts:

Chances of Central Europe in Political and Economic Aspects

Walesa: In line with the will of our nation we want to get our freedom and at the same time to build friendship and new economic relations.

Havel: We should contribute to the construction of Europe as a union of friendly nations, marked by the feature that smaller nations will not be afraid of the bigger ones and the latter will not compete with each other.

Attitude to Lithuania's Independence

Walesa: We do not want to interfere in the matters of other nations. They all have the right to demand independence.

Havel: The way in which Lithuania or other Baltic countries will materialize their right to define their political identity depends on them. I beleive that this will be achieved through peaceful means.

Aid for Other Nations of the Soviet Union

Walesa: Our help will be efficient when we have good recognition of the needs. At one time, help means a statement, another time it could be a duplicating machine.

Havel: "We have to give them a lot, to show them that we are interested in their problems, that we regard them as our own. Human rights issues will not halt in front of any state borders. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Asked who is in the lead in the process of reforms, Wales said: One can say that in some fields such as the ownership of land we are ahead as in Czechoslovakia it is in the hands of the state. Regarding trade unions movement we can also find examples of being ahead but as concerns the subject of president we are lagging behind. Thus, everything depends on the point of view.

Balcerowicz Comments on Soviet Trade Talks

LD1803055490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Report on interview with Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz by unidentified reporter in Warsaw; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Polish-Soviet economic talks under the joint chairmanship of Deputy Premiers Leszek Balcerowicz and Stefan Sitaryan began in Warsaw. Topical issues on cooperation between both countries and models of trade exchange and economic, scientific, and technical cooperation are under discussion.

[Reporter] The signing of a trade exchange protocol is the key issue. Will this take place soon? This is the question I asked Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz during one of the intervals.

[Begin recording] [Balcerowicz] It is difficult at the moment to give a specific reply because the talks have only just begun. We have set out our position. By and large it is the issue of future ties which should be settled, along with the issue of Polish indebtedness, in conjunction with the trade protocol, and, first and foremost, the amount of Polish exports, the surplus and also the issue of Polish-Soviet trade next year. (?The talks are at the initial stage,) and there is nothing I am able to add here [words indistinct].

[Reporter] Mr. Premier, an exchange of views has taken place here on the subject of the economic reforms under way in both countries. What about this matter? Is there mutual understanding here?

[Balcerowicz] I think that there is a very great deal of interest on the part of the Soviet side in what is taking place in Poland, especially in the anti-inflation program, in the (?initial) freeing of prices with simultaneous [word indistinct] nominal wage curbs, (?something that represents the chief element of this program). Another issue in which our Soviet guests are interested is the issue of privatization, methods of privatization, areas to be privatized first and areas to be privatized subsequently, and the taxation system. All in all (?we have had) a number of interesting questions. I think that this interest arises from the fact that the Soviet economy is, as is known, in a difficult situation and [words indistinct] ways out are being sought. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Soviet delegation will stay in Poland until Monday. One can hear from the Polish delegation's members that one cannot, for the time being, expect that the trade exchange protocol will be signed; the divergence of interests is too great. But this means that trade between our countries (?will be on a qualitatively lower level).

Mazowiecki Sets Local Government Elections

LD1803173590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] A meeting of Citizens Committees' representatives from the whole of Poland, as well as the deputies and senators offices of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group [DKP], with the participation of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, has taken place today in Warsaw. Here is what Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said about the date for the local government elections:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] I intend to set them for 27 May. They will thus take place a year after the parliamentary elections, which started the process of reforming and restructuring the state. Within the framework of that process, the reconstruction of an authentic local self government belongs to the most important

tasks. Without real local democracy, a democratic state cannot exist. These are going to be fully free elections alone. A thorough reform of the legal, institutional, and economic system is also necessary, so that the democraticaly elected councillors can freely run their towns and parishes, so that they can have at their disposal the necessary needs to provide for local needs. [end recording]

German Unification Position Remains Unchanged

LD1903095990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0811 GMT 19 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw [ADN-Correspondent]—The election results in the GDR will not change Poland's position on German unification, Foreign Ministry spokesman Wladyslaw Klaczynski stated to ADN today. This is particularly valid for questions concerning the borders of the future Germany. Irrespective of the internal order in the GDR, his country sticks by the demand to negotiate and to initial border treaties with the two German states before unification. He accepts the decision of the GDR voters, but does not wish to assess it at present, because it was a sovereign decision by the people.

Mixed Commission Discusses Economic Cooperation

AU1403111690 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9 Mar 90 p 3

[Zbigniew Wrobel report: "Poland-FRG: Opportunities for Economic Cooperation"]

[Text] The Polish-FRG mixed commission held the second part of its current session in Gdansk on 8 March. Following the talks, Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz and FRG Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann signed a final protocol. Among the things set out in it are: the decisions that were agreed on principles governing the procurement by Poland of medium- and long-term credits in the FRG; a framework for the continuation of talks on detailed regulations pertaining to seasonal work undertaken in the FRG by Polish citizens; and an assurance of FRG Government support for the Polish authorities' efforts in talks with the so-called Paris Club on settling the Polish debt question.

At a joint news conference, both chairmen said that an important subject discussed at the session was that of cooperation between small- and medium-sized enterprises in both countries. That is why, as the mixed commission was meeting in Gdansk, a group of businessmen representing FRG companies of this kind held talks with potential partners engaged in small-scale production in the Gdansk area.

The most important question in European politics and relations between the two countries at the present time, that of German unification and guarantees for the Polish Republic's present-day borders, was raised several times during the course of the session. The chairman of the FRG delegation said that he had delivered a letter from Chancellor Kohl dealing with these issues to Premier Mazowiecki. He said, referring to the resolution adopted by the Bundestag on Thursday [8 March], that Poland's right to live within in its present-day borders will not be called into question.

Vice Premier Balcerowicz stressed that the position on the question of borders and the Polish Republic's participation in the "two plus four" conference adopted by the FRG Government in the last couple of days was considered a step in the right direction by the Polish Government, but still fell short of being a position on which there would be full agreement. The Polish Government adheres to its previous position, which envisages participation by representatives of the Polish Republic in that part of the conference that will deal with matters relating to those states that will be immediate neighbors of a united Germany.

During their visit to the Gdansk region, the FRG delegation met "Solidarity" chairman Lech Walesa.

Justice Official on Restitution, Compensation

AU1403113690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Mar 90 p 1

['PAC'-signed report: "How To Redistribute Justice?"]

[Text] The official pronouncements of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government on property that was expropriated from private ownership after the war sound very vague—namely, that one ought to restitute, but one just cannot do so. Professor Adam Strzembosz, undersecretary of state at the Justice Ministry, has put forward some concrete solutions.

What property was actually requisitioned by the state? First, the statutory decree on the reform of agriculture, dated 6 October 1944, specified the nationalization of all property of over 50 hectares (on the so-called regained territories, this was 100 hectares)—namely, all land, buildings, and livestock. Thanks to this reform, the small-holding peasant and the peasant without any land received their own land, but this was done mechanically and the various promises made were not kept. Individuals who had property expropriated did not receive the stipulated five hectares, or an alternative payment corresponding to the scale of a grade six state administration official.

Second, the enactment dated 1 March 1945 nationalized all property that had "artistic and collectors value." This enactment is in fact inconsistent with the statutory decree and must therefore be considered legally invalid. In turn, this means that all claims for the restitution of this category of objects are still valid and have not lapsed because of the passage of time.

Third, the statute nationalized all industry. This was passed on 3 January 1946, and nationalized all enterprises that employed more than 50 people. It also

applied to the building industry where there were enterprises that employed many more. In practice, however, smaller enterprises were also nationalized, for example, flour mills that only had several workers. The statute provided for compensation, but this was never fixed and thus never paid.

Four, by a decree dated 27 October 1945, all land within Warsaw city limits, and all immovable property standing thereon were nationalized. The owners had the right to apply for a perpetual lease of their buildings, but this was rarely granted, and when it was, it was only for single family houses. The announced compensation was never paid and no specific provisions were ever issued.

What property could still be returned? First, abandoned manor houses and undistributed land that is still lying fallow (there is still some land like this).

Second, land which has not been used up in the reconstruction of Warsaw. Compensation for the true owners of such land should be obtained from all the prominent people who subsequently purchased this land for almost next to nothing. Such purchases were a very common occurrence.

Third, furniture and paintings that were seized from many landowners, when these objects are finally traced to the various museums, municipal buildings, or the private residences of former political celebrities.

What happens if we cannot restitute everything? To put all things right would require a vast outlay of state money and this is simply not possible.

All those people who were dispossessed, and who today do not find themselves in dire circumstances, might be asked to regard the property that they were deprived of as a kind of donation to the new Polish Third Republic that is now coming into being.

We must, nevertheless, find the means to pay compensation to all the victims of the postwar terror and the families of those murdered, imprisoned, and dispossessed who are now living in penury.

Premier Appoints New Voivode in Wloclawek

LD1503100990 Warsaw PAP in English 2149 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Prime minister proposed two candidates Wladyslaw Jesionowski and Jan Szczepaniak to the vacant post of the Wloclawek voivode in agreement with the Presidium of the Wloclawek Voivodship People's Council.

The premier appointed Jan Szczepaniak the Wloclawek voivode on the basis of the choice made by the Wloclawek Voivodship People's Council in a ballot.

Possible Split in Parliamentary Left Club Noted

AU1503145890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Mar 90 pp 1,2

[Maciej Urbaniak report: "A Split and What Next"]

[Text] Is it certain that there will be a split in the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left? The answer would appear to be yes following the statement made by Deputy Wieslaw Ziolkowski, the coordinator of the Social Democratic Union Circle, on Saturday [10 March], five hours into the club's meeting. Deputy Ziolkowski said that the circle had already decided to set up its own deputies club and all that remains to be done is to set a date for its formation. It will most probably be established following the union's founding congress, which is scheduled to take place within the first ten days of April.

The club had finally met to discuss internal issues at 0900 on Saturday. For several weeks now, there had been no opportunity to place such issues on the agenda for club meetings. They tended to be left until the final stages of the club's meetings, when, it would transpire, no decisions could be made, because a quorum could not be formed. This also happened on Saturday, although a sufficient number of deputies had signed a list on Friday evening stating that they would be present on Saturday. Nevertheless, some of them were out of town.

Deputy Marian Orzechowski, the chairman of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left, opened the meeting with a report on talks concerning the democratic left that he had held with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Bronislaw Geremek, leader of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. He said that both politicians favored the preservation of a united club.

Ireneusz Sekula spoke on behalf of deputies belonging to the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic. He also came out in favor of unity. He was followed by Tadeusz Fiszbach, Sejm vice marshal and leader of the union. He was asked to state his standpoint on this question, but declined to comment in light of his position.

The debate lasted four hours, but there was little that was concrete in what the deputies said. Accusations were leveled at the club presidium and its chairman, deputies reproached each other for various shortcomings, the most important of which were some deputies' lack of involvement in commission work and the poor attendance at plenary sessions.

Deputy Jerzy Bartnicki announced his intention of leaving the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left. He said that paradoxically the club's strength lay in its weakness, that is, the fact that a quorum cannot be formed. That is why nothing has changed. Several deputies were considering similar moves, but had not made any decisions so far.

The statement made by Deputy Ziolkowski referred to earlier was only made toward the end of the meeting. It

was elaborated on by Deputy Marek Pol. The main reasons behind the decision of the union's deputies to form their own club was the need to acquire credibility as well as the fact that the group is capable of formulating its own positions on all the matters placed before the Sejm (which is something that can be asserted of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left) and always votes as bloc. Deputy Wladyslaw Serafin made the following comparison about the desire for credibility: "A hen frantically plucking out all its red feathers to endear itself to a rooster."

The club did not make any decisions, postponing decisions concerning personnel and regulations until the next Sejm session. It will probably hold a meeting on 21 or 22 March.

New Krakow Daily DEPESZA Launched

LD1603222790 Warsaw PAP in English
1746 GMT 16 Mar 90

[text] Krakow, March 16—A new morning daily DEPESZA, the first independent daily in southern Poland, appeared here today.

The new Krakow press title is published by the Maruz company.

An extensive service of local news reports and worldwide dispatches is given in an interesting and innovative form and in an attractive graphic lay-out.

This is a sister journal of the Malopolska-Solidarnosc weekly.

Swiecicki Foresees Full GATT Membership

LD1803110990 Warsaw PAP in English
1804 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 17: On the last day of his Polish visit today, Director-General of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade Arthur Dunkel held talks with Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marchin Swiecicki.

After the talks Swiecicki told PAP that the changes Poland had made fully comply with the principles of GATT. If this is coupled with the internal convertibility of the zloty and elimination of subsidies it will make it possible for Poland to become a full member of GATT.

"I think that Poland will become a full member of this organization still this year," Swiecicki said.

POLITYKA Views Party Congress Prospects

PM2202091490 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
27 Jan 90 p 16

[Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz article: "A Funeral And A Wedding"]

[Text] The piece I am writing now will appear in print some two or three days before the party congress. You could hardly be a chronicler of the present time and fail to notice this event, for which we are being prepared not only by the party press but also by GAZETA WYBORCZA; not only by TRYBUNA LUDU [now TRYBUNA], but also by one of the most active participants in the pre-congress debate—Lech Walesa.

This congress will be an odd affair, consisting, as we already know, of two parts: a funeral and a wedding. The funeral is scheduled to take place rapidly, in just one day, and we can expect that the euloguies over the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], which is just now being laid in its coffin, will be hurried and peremptory: The deceased was disliked and his presence was felt as a burden, especially by those who were not members of the immediate family; but even here his departure does not appear to cause too much sorrow. In a persuasive article published in TRYBUNA LUDU and entitled "On the Appraisal of the PZPR's Achievements", Prof. Jerzy Wiatr has much difficulty in finding commendable highlights in the deceased's biography—such as, for example, October 1956: the great, wasted chance of Polish socialism—and when he does identify them, he is often compelled to make considerable allowances: for example, in Wladyslaw Gomulka's activity after 1956. I think that today, with hindsight, we can see sufficiently clearly that almost from the very outset, from the mass rally in Warsaw, Gomulka's main desire was to put all that rabble in their proper places and to go on ruling "as preordained by Our Lord."

Obviously, one day in the future we shall be given more detailed accounts of the history and the drama of Polish communism, and we shall perceive the trampled ideas that were born within its framework as well as the trampled—if not crushed—people who were prepared to serve these ideas for entirely altruistic reasons. But for the moment it looks as if the second part of the ceremony we are awaiting—that is, the wedding reception in honor of the founding of a new party—will be closed not only to all people associated with communism but also to all ideas of similar kind.

At the moment the Polish Left resembles a drowning man who, as he sinks to the bottom, tries to grasp any kind of frail seaweed, seeking an illusory handhold, and who consequently does not want to allow anyone else to hold on to him and thereby drag him even further down. Today the very word "communism" appears to be that kind of unwanted ballast and soon Poland will probably be one of the few countries in the world (apart from the countries of Eastern Europe, which will probably go the same way) without a communist party, even though communist parties exist not only in Italy, France, and Spain, but even in the United States. Therein lies our originality.

However, the phenomenon of the Left's sinking to the bottom presupposes a bottom of some sort, that is, some firm ground which it will finally be able to feel underfoot

and from which it may be able to rise back again to the surface—assuming it can swim. "Do not even bother trying, Ivan, there is no point in making all this effort; just go straight under!" calls a character in a joke which sounds better in Russian than it does in Polish. But the joke is not so stupid. As I read the press and watch events around us, I see a desperate and exhausting struggle by the Left against the engulfing waves—a struggle which it is bound to lose—and at the same time I note very few signs of a search for some firm ground which could possibly offer it salvation.

This firm ground is found in the essentially simple question: After all the historical experience we have gone through, is there still something out there that could be called a socialist vision of the world? Does this vision have anything in common with the existing real situation?

If the answer to this question is in the negative, then we have nothing to talk about, either at the funeral, where at most we could settle for recalling some good memories, or especially at the wedding. But if, despite all that we know and all that is happening around us, we can say to ourselves that there is indeed a certain interpretation of the earthly order which distinguishes the socialist view from all the other views on the subject, then we still have something to discuss.

Regretfully, nothing that I have so far read on the subject contains any evidence of such an attempt. There is of course much talk of moral principles, of sensitivity in the face of human suffering, of the need for social justice, and even of protecting the working man against the burdens that weigh him down. This theme undoubtedly lay at the foundations of the workers' movement, but sensitivity to human suffering was also manifested by Maria Konopnicka [19th century poet whose work highlighted social injustice of contemporary capitalist system] and social justice is also the subject of John Paul II's social doctrine, while a trade union that called itself Solidarity made a triumphant career for itself out of defending the working man's rights. Therefore it could be worth recalling that the originality of socialism as a social idea lay not just in the fact that it perceived and highlighted human suffering but also in its belief that nothing would change in that respect unless the ownership relations prevailing in the current social system were changed. Today we simply burst out laughing at such a sentiment: Ownership relations changed in 1945, but the injustice remained. However, does this mean that the original, fundamental diagnosis was wrong, or that it was the treatment which failed? Today everyone approves and applauds reprivatization as a return to "tried and tested economic methods." This process was started several years ago by the PZPR itself when it was still in power: Therefore, could someone perhaps tell me whether we are still playing the same game in which public property is a fairer solution than private property? And if so, then why? If not, then why do we want the wedding?

It was with a sense of sorrow that I read a statement in which one of the principal party leaders says that he sees the new party as "pragmatic" and "political" rather than "ideological". As I understand it, then, it is to be a party that will involve itself in parliamentary interplay and bargaining—often probably quite justifiable—for percentage points of price or wage cuts or rises, for statutory articles, for parliamentary seats or, at best, in order to ensure that the "republican movement" now developing so dynamically in Germany does not snatch Szczecin and Wroclaw, for which it nurtures a growing appetite, from under our very noses. But such a program can be pursued by anyone who has not lost his senses, whereas what can a socialist party that has abandoned its ideological standpoints—that is, a specific way of interpreting the world, its history, the processes taking place therein, and the objectives worth pursuing—offer to "the masses" ("the masses" being a now-forgotten term from the revolutionary vocabulary)? Perhaps this is an indiscreet question, like inquiring about the bride's virginity on the eve of the wedding, but is this "pragmatic" and "political" party also to be a Marxist party or one that simply opts for an ill-defined but tangible advantage?

Another party activist, no less prominent that the one I have just referred to, insists that the new party should have the term "Polish" as the first element of its name, regardless of what it is to be called in the first place. This, of course, is not a question of the postal address, to be clarified lest letters addressed to it are by chance delivered to the social democrats in Guatemala. It is a question of emphasizing a principle, of highlighting the fact that Poland's interests are at the heart of its concerns.

This is, of course, hardly a debatable issue, but I do not think that socialists who chant "Poland, Poland!" could actually outdo everyone else with their cry—for instance, the national democrats or other nationalists, who can shout much louder. On the other hand, there was a time when socialists invented internationalism, that is, an outlook that links the interests of your own country to worldwide social progress and transformation. Today I find more evidence of internationalism—of a kind—in GAZETA WYBORCZA than in party debates; it is in GAZETA WYBORCZA that they are concerned about the progress of movements akin to Solidarity in Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, or Belorussia; feel ideologically linked to them; and are even ready to help them.

The late PZPR, which will be quickly laid in the earth before the wedding, was driven to its grave by, among other things, two of its own diseases: the very same "pragmatism" that raged unrestrained during the Gierek years, and nationalism, which enjoyed its heyday under the late Gomulka and during the Moczar years. Would it not be advisable to make sure that the new bride undergoes tests lest she bring with her the same pestilence as part of her dowry?

I know perfectly well, of course, what association the word "internationalism" has for many people, and why

we want so much to bury it as deep as possible. The association is with a servile and deferential attitude to the Soviet Union. The USSR has very bad associations for two generations of Polish people—assuming 20 years for one generation. It is equated with atrocious crimes committed even in their own country and with a long-standing threat to the world peace—a threat not inferior to that of American imperialism. All this is true. People of only three generations back remember that the USSR also rescued us from Nazi occupation or even, perhaps, from gas chamber anterooms. Counting four generations back, people also remember that it was the Soviet people who began an incredible social experiment in their own country—an experiment for which they were to pay a terrible price and which in many respects proved unsuccessful, but which at the time not only looked promising but also, and more importantly, made possible the wonderful development of all these marvelous countries of Western Europe. For what would the social miracle of Western countries have amounted to—and would it have taken place at all—if not for the "specter of Bolshevism"?

We could talk, argue, and theorize about this question for hours. But we should not bury our heads in the sand—especially not on the eve of the wedding.

"What is the nature of the world? What is the nature of man?" Can the new party afford to ignore these questions? And so, is the world "cognizable", to use the naive formula which was once made popular by an Agnieszka Osiecka song? In other words, can it be understood in terms of human reason or is it, perhaps, a supernatural miracle, governed by incomprehensible rules? Does man really only respond to lower impulses, such as greed, the desire for power, and the wish to dominate others, or is he capable of altruistic deeds and joint action aimed at the common good? Recently we have heard many references to the philosophy of the old Polish Socialist Party [PPS]—a philosophy which has for many years been held in disdain and contempt—and we have seen the PPS being declared virtually a new patron. Well, the truth is that the PPS had both its good and bad sides, but its one indisputably great virtue was its ethos of joint and common effort carried out together by fundamental human teams. You could find this philosophy in the writings of Boleslaw Drobner, in the cooperative periodicals published by the "Zoliborz socialists," and in the views propounded by Hochfeld and Strzelecki. There was less greed for power (the communists even maintained that there was too little desire for power, which resulted in the revolution being replaced by a reformist ideology) and more willingness to cooperate in relationships with others. This was arguably even more important than the political interplay conducted by that party. Can we forget about this while we are attending the wedding?

Deputy Bugaj wrote recently that we face three possible scenarios today: enforced strengthening of authoritarian power—that is, something like the May 1926 coup d'etat; preservation of the bipolar system, with Solidarity at one end and the "redecorated" PZPR at the other—that is, a continuation of the situation of conflict and mistrust; and finally, an unspecified pluralistic system with many political entities present and competing on the political stage.

Deputy Bugaj has not lost his senses: All these options are possible. I could even add another one ot two, but the thought of all the possibilities and consequences already makes my blood run cold. So the wedding, scheduled to take place in a few days, will definitely not be celebrated in quiet and peaceful times. It is expected that the newly-formed party will have very little time for a honeymoon. But will it be able to offer shelter, not to the castaways of nomenklatura, which the ruling camp fears, but to people who live by the labor of their hands and the desire to think and speak freely and openly, to live peacefully side by side with others, and to believe that the world, and Poland with it, will be able to do better than to keep copying the "tried and tested economic methods"?

Eyewitness Describes Clashes in Transylvania

LD1603151490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Istvan Agoston has managed to speak with an eyewitness of the incident in Satu Mare.

[Begin recording] [Agoston] What happened?

[Unidentified speaker] They [the Romanians] have decided not to allow the celebration of 15 March. We invited them also to this celebration, but they canceled it. They painted over the Hungarian logos where they were on display. The crowd shouted. Today we tried to come to an agreement with them, but in reply they said that they would prevent any kind of celebration.

At 1300, they prevented us from laying a wreath at the Balescu statue, they covered the statue with a Romanian flag so that he [the statue] should not see those bozgors, as they say—these are the Magyars, the stateless people. Still, a few people went there later. Many of them, women, children, foreign citizens were beaten. We directed the crowd toward the Catholic Basilica with the intention of laying the wreath at the Christ statue in the church yard since it was not possible [to lay it at the Balescu statue]. This took place. The Romanian crowd then went there and provoked a big fight on the main square.

Meanwhile, several people suffered serious injuries. They probably wanted a larger provocation, but we had agreed in advance that we would act most peacefully and not reply to anything. [end recording]

The eyewitness has asked us not reveal his name and address.

Start of Hungarian Revolution Commemorated

AU1603170990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0935 GMT 16 Mar 90

["Political Life—Commemorative Events"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—The 1848 revolution in Transylvania was marked in the city of Sfintu Gheorghe where the local branch of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania staged a number of events Thursday 15 March. Students of Miko College laid wreaths at martyrs Bartalis Ferenc and Varadi Iozsef's execution sites and at the reformed cemetery. Wreaths were laid by children of the no. 7 general school at Gabor Aron's commemorative plaque and statue, and at the Nicolae Balcescu statue. Wreaths were also laid at a monument to the 1848 revolution heroes in the central square of the city wherefrom people walked to the local stadium where a rich cultural programme was performed. A prayer ended the observance.

Magyars Celebrate Revolution's Anniversary

AU1603211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1933 GMT 16 Mar 90

["Events in Satu Mare"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—From Satu Mare, Mr. Aurelian Gheorghiu, mayor of the county, told a ROMPRES reporter that on Thursday [15 March], the local branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union arranged an event when wreaths with ribbons in the colours of the Hungarian flag were laid at the memorial to Sandor Petofi at Ardud, a settlement 20 kms off Oradea. The event was also attended by approximately 3,700 persons that came from Hungary by buses or private cars crossing the frontier at Petea.

Likewise, words were written in Hungarian and German on shop windows saying that the goods on sale come from the humanitarian aid received from abroad.

Mr. Gheorghiu informs that a demonstration of protest was organized in one of the places approved of by local authorities against that event arranged by "Vatra Romaneasca".

Mr. Gheorghiu stated that he knew nothing about the fact that an attempt had been made to raise Hungary's national flag on the Catholic church in Satu Mare.

Radio Reports More Anti-Magyar Demonstrations

LD1703194990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] There have been anti-Magyar actions in Transylvania today, too. According to the nationalist organization Vatra Romaneasca, the 1848 war of independence was anti-Romanian, since it led to the cession of Transylvania. Eva Cseh telephoned the editor of Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] radio, and she chose precisely this city because the situation is most tense here, according to reports.

[Begin Cseh recording] The disturbances began yesterday at midday in Tirgu Mures, when a Magyar-language sign was placed on one of the city's pharmacies by students of the medical university there whose mother-tongue is Magyar. Then, the passers-by became a real throng. The camera of two Panorama correspondents was smashed, the sound-recordings of Canadian journalist Jozsef Gaspar were taken away, and two journalists of the local paper, MAROSVASARHELYI NEPUJSAG [PEOPLE'S NEWSPAPER OF TIRGU MURES] were forced to stay with the crowd of anti-Magyar demonstrators. By evening, the number of demonstrators had swelled to several thousands, and the drunk driver of a Trabant bearing our country's number-plates drove into the crowd. Fourteen people ended up in the hospital with serious or light injuries. The driver of the Trabant was arrested.

The anti-Magyar demonstration in Tirgu Mures continued today. In front of the Youth House, an organization of Romanian students protested that Magyar students at the medical university were demanding a Magyar section, and they were holding a sit-down strike because of this. As the staff-member of Tirgu Mures radio said, the demonstrations are against the Magyars and foreigners, and they are also directed against publicity.

In Sepsiszentgyorgy [Sfintu Gheorghe], the students of the Mikes Kelemen school and the (Szekely Miko) college since yesterday have been staging a daily one-hour sit-down strike, in sympathy with the demands of the Magyar students in Tirgu Mures. Joining them, the artists of the Sfintu Gheorghe theater are also holding a sit-down strike starting today. [end recording]

Demonstration Staged Against Hungarian Students

AU1703194090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1833 GMT 17 Mar 90

["Political Life: Demonstrations in Support of Romanian Students"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/3/1990—As already reported, the Magyar students of the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy of Tirgu- Mures have been on strike for more than a week for the way in which university autonomy is being achieved. Since the Magyar students' representatives left the council hall where debates started on a solution to the problem in the presence of state authorities, the Romanian students' league of the abovementioned institute staged a peaceful demonstration of protest against the exaggerated claims of the Magyar nationality students and teaching staff.

In token of solidarity with the Romanian students of Tirgu-Mures, the students of the University of Cluj-Napoca staged a demonstration on 17 March urging their Magyar colleagues to hold a dialogue and observe university ethics.

The same day, the students of Bucharest, gathered in the aula of the Faculty of Law within a meeting of solidarity with the Romanian students of Tirgu-Mures adopted a manifesto whereby they declare against the separatism requested by the Magyar students. The demonstration in Bucharest has no anti-Hungarian character, and the demonstrators' protest refers to the extremist groups and to those leaders of the Magyar Movement who seek to annul any contact, the aforementioned manifesto shows.

Magyar Union Gives Statement on 'Provocations'

AU1703204190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2005 GMT 17 Mar 90

["Statement by the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/3/1990—In a statement sent to the news agency ROMPRES for publication, the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania expresses its consternation at the provocations against quiet and the peaceful work of the country's citizens, which are apt to poison the relations between the Romanian people and Magyar minority. They are attempts which have manifestos brought from abroad as their source, written by the Hungarian emigrationist circles from the West, manifestos disseminated in the Romanian across the country. The union states it has nothing in common with such printing matter and does not share the irredentist demands they propagate. Behind these provocations there are the retrograde forces of the past which have only one aim, that of destabilizing the situation, of disuniting, of altering the national-minority relationships and of poisoning the links between the Romanian people and the Magyar minority. The Magyar Democratic Union has assumed the task to conduct a constructive dialogue, without any show of passion and bias with a view to achieving and consolidating cooperation. Along this line, we have had several meetings with various parties and groupings and, sharing the same wish, we initiated a meeting with the Vatra Romaneasca Union at the headquarters of our union, for Saturday, 17 March. To our regret, we have received no answer.

In retaliation, the anti-Magyar provocations continued culminating with the 15-16 March events in Satu Mare and Tirgu- Mures. If so far we have not known what is behind these events, we know it clearly now. It is an organization which, in only a couple of weeks, has fully and overtly shown its chauvinistic, extremist-nationalistic attitude, receiving no one who could not prove one's Romanian ethnicity, at any of its demonstrations and which though claiming to be a political organization which uses but non-violent means, proves the exact opposite.

The Magyar Democratic Union of Romania notes with sorrow that there are forces for which the revolution ended with the declaration of the democratic rights of the majority, which do not want to take any step ahead and, in exchange, they do not recognize the right of minorities, of the Magyar in particular, to these democratic rights. The union has to note that, in this respect, both the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] and the government can be criticized as they have taken no attitude toward the interpellations advanced, the reports synthesized and the information items that were illustrative of the disturbing events. Moreover, neither the PNUC nor the government analysed in any way the proposals meant to ensure progress and consolidation in the minorities' problems, giving free scope to the majority chauvinism and extremist nationalism.

The union states once again: It fights for Romania's democratization and, in this framework, for the guaranteeing of the individual and collective rights of the Magyar minority in Romania. It aims at the consolidation and the progress of the common homeland, and at its attachment, with a broad opening, to the democracy

of Europe and the world. In its organization and in the assertion of its goals, the union shall resort exclusively to peaceful and, logical solutions governed by reason, considering the rights and liberties of the Romanian majority and the other minorities as sacred and intangible.

In the end, the statement urges the union's organizations and members to keep their human and national dignity, not to yield to provocations, but at the same time not to give away in defending its democratic gains.

Demonstraters Support Timisoara Proclamation

AU1803150590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Some 5,000 Cluj citizens are participating at this time in a demonstration in support of the Timisoara Proclamation. The organizers of this demonstration are the Association of Former Political Detainees, the Democratic Youth Federation, the League for the Protection of Human Rights in Romania, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, the Cluj Students' Union, and the Students' Democratic Front of the Transylvanian Academy of (?Art).

The demonstration began in the Liberty Square with a moment of silence for the martyrs of the revolution and continued along the route where they became the victims of repression.

The demonstrators then continued along the Heroes Boulevard and Alexandru Ioan Cuza Street. The next meeting place was Mihai Viteazu Square. The demonstrators carried placards with the following words: Lord, make the Timisoara call awaken the country; yesterday in Timisoara, today throughout the country.

Doina Cornea was also among the demonstrators.

In an atmosphere of calm and order the participants expressed the desire that, together with the martyr cities of our country, Cluj can also achieve the ideals of freedom and democracy. The demonstration in Cluj continues at this time.

A short time ago a peaceful demonstration took place in Ovidiu Square in Constanta organized by the students' union of the Civilian Marines Institute with the support of the Constanta branch of the World Union of Free Romanians.

The demonstrators—more than 1,000 citizens—expressed their support for the Timisoara Proclamation and solidarity with the ideas and demands made during last Sunday's meetings in hero city.

Doinea Cornea Joins Demonstration in Cluj

LD1803173190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Several thou and people are demonstrating in Cluj [Kolozsvar] against the provisional Romanian government. The demonstrators are hailing the friendship of the Romanian and the Magyar people, and they are shouting in chorus that the Magyars and the Romanians are fraternal peoples. Also taking part in the Cluj action is Mrs. Doina Cornea, the noted Romanian civil rights activist.

Demonstraters Call for Accurate Media Coverage

AU1803162490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1537 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/3/1990—A peaceful demonstration authorized by the police was staged in Bucharest's Victory Square Sunday afternoon. Organized by "The People's Alliance" cultural and apolitical movement, the demonstration started in Unirii Square where people gathered in the morning. Eventually they walked through downtown Bucharest and stopped at University and Romana Squares where they kept a moment's silence in memory of the martyrs who died there before they reached Victory Square.

"Two are the basic aims of our demonstration" Mr. Teodor Maries, a worker with I.C.M. [Enterprise for the Collection of Materials] Caransebes and vice-president of "the people's alliance" told a ROMPRES editor: "one is to read the Timisoara Proclamation in a correct, not distorted, way so that public opinion may realize that Timis County did not demand to become autonomous, and the other is to state our solidarity with Transylvania which was, is and will be ours. I, for one, demand that the Timisoara Proclamation be read in full on television and the conflicts in Transylvania be covered faithfully," Mr. Maries also said.

The demonstrators chanted slogans calling for the dismantlement of communist structures in enterprises, ministries, city and village councils, and that the negative and positive contribution of each member of the Securitate and militia forces to the revolution on 16-22 December be accurately established.

Students Denounce Separatism, Irredentism

AU1803162590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1546 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/3/1990—A big meeting, Sunday in Iasi, gathered students from all local higher learning institutes to show their solidarity with the Romanian students and professors of the Medical and Pharmaceutics Institute in Tirgu-Mures. The demonstrators, who walked along the city's main roads before they stopped outside the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy,

carried placards that proclaimed: "We don't want separatism, we want to learn and live in full understanding", "Long live Moldova, Transylvania and Wallachia."

Speakers at the meeting denounced the attempts made by extremists and instigators, and condemned the very grave acts of diversion and irredentism.

The meeting, held in a spirit of order and discipline, ended in a appeal made by the students of Iasi to the Hungarian students of Tirgu-Mures to brotherhood, unity and the renunciation of separatism, whatever the motives.

Paper Notes Delay in Agricultural Measures

AU1603132090 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Mar 90 p 1

[Editorial: "Democracy, Voluntarism, and the Prospects for Agriculture"]

[Excerpts] In most villages, after decisions had been taken about the way in which this year's activity should be carried out, people resumed tilling the land within the agricultural production cooperative. In other places, particularly in hilly areas, cooperative members decided to dismantle unprofitable cooperatives.

It is the right of agricultural workers—and not only their right—to decide on the form of organizing production that they believe is the best for their interest and for the interest of the country alike. This is a natural decision because it is in keeping with the physical potential in those areas and with the will of the people and of the cooperative members. [passage omitted]

The truth is that in some places the application of measures to distribute land to the peasants has been unpardonably delayed, however this cannot and should not lead to abuses, such as the ones that have occurred in some villages. [passage omitted]

In connection with the current situation, we ask the government and the central agricultural bodies to answer some questions and urgently clarify the confusing situation that has been created, a situation that, if perpetuated, could have very serious consequences for this year's agricultural production:

Are the measures on organizing agriculture adopted by the new bodies of the state power and the decree-laws on stimulating the peasantry valid or not?

Does anybody else, apart from the general assembly, have the right to decide on the way in which the activity in agricultural cooperatives should be organized and carried out?

As a matter of fact, who is included in the general assembly of cooperative members? All those who enrolled as members of the agricultural cooperative many years ago, or only those who have stayed and worked throughout the years in the agricultural cooperative, or those who are not cooperative members, yet take part in decision-making?

When acts of violence occur against those who have been democratically elected by cooperative members, the bodies in charge of keeping order do not interfere in any way. Who is responsible for keeping social and economic order in villages?

We turn to the Provisional National Unity Council Bureau and to the leaders of political parties with the question, which we hope will not be considered as essentially offensive: Are you aware of the fact that various acts of disorder in villages create the danger that agricultural production will not be accomplished and this will increasingly worsen the situation of providing foodstuffs to the population this year?

Newspaper Notes Changes in Political System

AU1803191190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 9 Mar 90 p 1

[Magdalena Boiangiu article: "The Inertia of Structures"]

[Text] The radical change of the political system that was brought about by the revolution has not yet been reflected in changes in the structure of our lives, changes that are so impatiently expected by everybody. Satisfying the claims of certain social and professional categories creates a chain reaction with unforeseen effects for the balance of the entity. The elimination, through decisions, from "the top" or through pressure "from the bottom" of some compromised leaders or simply uncomfortable ones immediately raises all kinds of questions about their replacements or about their subordinates. When he takes radical decisions, he is reproached that he affects the future. When he takes into account the temporary nature of his mandate, he is blamed that his decisions stop half way and do not solve all aspects of the problem.

"It is just like before"—say the disappointed ones aggressively, and they will tell you how many times they have been standing in lines and what people were talking about there, what nice and well paid job this or that rascal managed to grab, to what new "fortuitous connections" a certain demagogue resorted to obtain certain benefits, and how corruption and influence peddling continues. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of these concrete examples which generally are difficult to verify and their interpretation is evidently subjective. It is subjective, because we are also "just as before." There is only one difference: Before "we were granted" freedom, and now we are afraid to assume it. We have tolerated for centuries on end the demagogy about the general interest to which the individual interests of all the citizens of the country should be subdued. It has been proved that our few wishes were sacrificed for the restricted interests, not even of a class but just of a clan. (Somebody once said that Stalin wanted to prove the

possibility of building socialism in a single country while Ceausescu wanted it in a single family). Now everyone has economic demands without thinking whether he will have anything to buy with the money or whether the victory obtained under pressure will not turn against the solicitors. I am not in favor of the wisdom "be pleased with little", however, the issue of improving the standard of living in a country does not depend on the goodwill of a leader or of a government, but rather on the consistent implementation of an economic policy besides the one we have had so far. We are living with the feeling that we have been deprived of things and now is the moment to get back everything. However, what has been taken from us is neither in Ali Baba's den nor in the state treasury; it is gone forever because of the construction of useless objectives and the conclusion of harmful transactions. It is normal to ask for something that you believe or know that can be granted to you. However, if you insist and threaten you can obtain promises and short term advantages. I ask myself, not as a specialist, but as a simple user of public services: If salaries increase in the subway sector, at the Bucharest Transportation Enterprise, or at the railway, will this increase not be reflected in the increase of fares? In turn, won't those who will have to pay more for their fares start a strike themselves demanding an increase in their own salaries?

In addition, the great number of conflicts that are looking for solutions with the government and the great number of people who go with justified complaints from one central forum to another prove the inertia of the bureaucratic apparatus. The partial elimination of the higher echelon did not bring about essential changes either in the ideas or in practice. The bureaucratic apparatus selected according to the principle of submissiveness and educated in the spirit of recommendations does not know how and does not want to solve anything. So far, life has proved that a wrong initiative can be punished while the lack of initiative ensures the continuity of a career and of the privileges that derive from this career. Through its passive attitude, this bureaucracy maintains the image of an authoritarian power which makes more concessions than in the past, doesn't it?

As long as the citizen remains only a solicitor—either humble or violent—in his relations with the power and not a partner for dialogue, we will think "as before"—not only as in Ceausescu's time, when people thanked Ceausescu personally whenever salaries were increased or prices were "reestablished" but also as in Mr. Leonida's [well-known character in Romanian Literture] time, who wanted a state pension in accordance with the old law and a salary in accordance with the new one.

Daily Defends Opinion Poll on Personalities

AU1803163290 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Mar 90 p 3

[Petru Clej article: "There Is No Trap!"]

[Text] The newspaper on Friday, 9 March 1990, carried an article by Marin Mincu entitled "Let Us Avoid Traps!" Faced with this article, which expresses doubts about question No. 4 of the opinion poll organized by our newspaper, we feel obliged to make a few remarks.

The question about a personality that could play a positive role in our country's situation was also asked in the previous opinion poll published by our newspaper. This kind of opinion poll on top personalities is used throughout the world. It has to be specified that it was not an individual political personality at stake, but a personality in the broader sense and the mention of names like Octavian Paler, Andrei Plesu, Gabriel Liiceanu, and Mircea Dinescu, who are top representatives of our culture, proves that the readers of ROMANIA LIBERA understood the question.

We do not want to worship idols, we are very far from such a thought. Why do we have to link everything to the former regime? Personalities are playing a public role throughout the world. The role of the democratic system is to stop those who want to take advantage of this role. Besides, this opinion poll cannot be extended to the whole country; the people we have chosen (from among the readers of our newspaper) are not representative of the whole country because of the method used in the opinion poll—a questionnaire published in a newspaper.

Maybe by naming a certain personality, each of us is defining his "moral status." As a matter of fact, these personalities represent more than just themselves; they may be the embodiment of the aspirations of thousands or even millions of people. Human society has always needed leaders and spiritual guides throughout its existence. In a truly democratic society, their roles tend to become positive.

State Secretary Signs Food Aid Agreements

AU1303174090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 14'6 GMT 13 Mar 90

["Signature of U.S. Romamia Agreements"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/3/1990—Today, 13 March two food aid agreements between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Romania have been signed in Bucharest, worth 80 million dollars.

The first agreement provided for a U.S. grant which will cover the procurement of approximately 315,000 tons of feedgrains and 7,500 tons of butter. Distribution of the feedgrains will be made to both private farmers and state farms with the proceeds from the sale of both commodities to be used for purposes to be mutually agreed upon by the United States and Romania.

The second agreement provided for a 26-year low-intgerest loan of 20 million, U.S. dollars, to be used for the purchase of additional feedgrains. The Government of Romania has agreed to promote the role of the private sector in producing and marketing agricultural products.

The U.S. Agency for International Development 's assistant administrator for food for peace, Philip Christenson, signed on behalf of the United States and State Secretary Aurel Antoniu of the Ministry of Agriculture and food industry signed on behalf of Romania. The signing occurred in the presence of Minister of Agriculture and food industry, Nicolae Stefan and the U.S. Embassy's charge d'affaires, Larry C. Napper.

'Aromanian Cultural Society' Established

AU1403135290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1223 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1990—The founding meeting of the Aromanian Cultural Society was held in Bucharest yesterday. The society originates in the Macedo-Romanian Cultural Society which was set up in 1880 and stopped functioning in 1949.

The Aromanian Cultural Society has no political character. It intends to contribute to the preservation and cultivation of the Aromanians' language, traditions and culture, back human contacts and cultural links, and safeguard their spiritual unity. The society will promote a good understanding with the peoples in the Balkans and in other countries where Macedo-Romanians carry on their activity.

Minister Signs Protocol on FRG Food Relief

AU1503181090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 15 Mar 90

["Meridians of Solidarity—Governmental Relief"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1990—The Governments of Romania and West Germany signed a protocol on 15 March on the delivery of 1,000 tonnes of canned beef, up to 1,000 tonnes of butter and 500 tonnes of not-fat powder milk.

This relief will be delivered to the cities of Bucharest, Suceava, Timisoara, Sibiu and Brasov.

The protocol was signed for Romania by the Minister of Home Trade Emilian Dobrescu and for the FRG by Ambassador Klaus Terflot. This is the third governmental relief granted to Romania, after those granted by the United States and Italy.

Society Encourages International Law Research

AU1603170790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1447 GMT 16 Mar 90

["Cultural News—Juridic Society"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—The inaugural meeting took place in Bucharest on Friday, March 16, of the scientific society "Nicolae Titulescu-Vespasian V. Pella" meaning to turn to advantage the traditions of the Romanian juridic thinking, to encourage and develop researches into international law, promote collaboration among scientists in various countries in view of increasing their contribution to the consolidation of international peace and understanding by law.

Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Foreign Policy Commission, former foreign minister of Romania and former president of the UN General Assembly, was electe honorary president ot the society.

Electric Power Minister Speaks on Energy Needs

AU1603171690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1452 GMT 16 Mar 90

["Economy—Energy a National Emergency"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—We are a high energy-consumer country, with an overdimensioned industry, and to come out of the energy crisis we are passing through we must reconsider and restructure the whole national economy, states Mr. Adrian Georgescu, minister of electric power.

The aluminium, chemical, metallurgical and construction (cement, in particular) industries must be reequipped, in certain cases even undertaking radical measures by completely giving up the big consumer productions that are disastrous for the country. The coal-fuelled electric plants have an energy availability of less than 40 per cent. The main causes of their wrong operation lie in the quality of the principal and auxiliary equipment, of fuel and in the competence of workers in this sector. Programmes of measures are under way for the reconstruction of parts of electric plants by one's own efforts as well as by consultations with foreign firms like "Electricite de France" or "Balkok Wilkoks" [name as received] of West Germany.

In the long run, the concerns to obtain an energy surplus on a national level are multifarious. First, nuclear power plants are under contruction to function in several years from now, and in view is the translation into fact of a national plan for the building of small nuclear plants for town and district heating. We shall continue to harness the country's energy potential in accordance with ecological norms and principles, and to better capitalize the non-conventional sources of energy, the minister also said.

Doina Cornea Gives Reasons for Leaving NSF

AU1603193590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1514 GMT 16 Mar 90

["Agora—Doina Cornea: 'Young People Have Not Yet Had Their Final Say'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—In an interview granted on 5 March and released on 16 March by the weekly "22" issued by the Group for Social Dialogue,

Mrs. Doina Cornea referred to the reasons which made her resign the former National Salvation Front Council [NSF] (early January) showing that these were: NSF postion on local and national Securitate and the Front decision to turn into a political party. In the interview she mentioned names of important Securitate people maintained in office and even promoted, the weekly says but does not list the names.

In connection with the attacks on her position concerning the foreign aid, the well-known exponent of the anti-Ceausescu resistance said she was for humanitarian aid and against economic and financial aid for a government "which does not give clear political evidence of democratization. I wonder what is the democratic principle on the strength of which the Front took 50 per cent of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] seats, why there is no free press law and why the current government does not clarify its position on private property and agriculture, most of all".

Mrs. Doina Cornea considers that the revolution was confiscated, but she continues to believe in young people, in those who made the "miracle" (as she terms the act of toppling Ceausescu's communist dictatorship last December). "What lies ahead depends on them and I feel that they have not yet had their final say".

Cornea Recalls Protection During Revolution

AU1603193390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1542 GMT 16 Mar 90

["The Film of the Revolution—Doina Cornea Protected by Securitate?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—I remember a fellow who, thanks to me, was coopted in the Cluj organization of the National Salvation Front. He was a man who took me under his protection during the demonstration of 22 December and looked after me "paternally" all the time, states Mrs. Doina Cornea in an interview to "22" weekly.

Everytime we were working, everytime we wanted to make important decision that man behaved strangely: He was threatening us with terrorist attacks, turning off the lights, obliging us to move from the hall where we were, and other similar things. Noting that what he did was recurring, I simply asked him if he was a Securitate man. Subsequently it was proved that my "protector" was a member of the former Securitate, Doina Cornea shows.

Authorities Impose Compulsory Visas for Austrians

AU1603173990 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] After compulsory visas for Romanians entering Austria went into effect Thursday [15 March], Romanian authorities now have also introduced compulsory visas for Austrians entering Romania; the new regulation became effective immediately. These visas are issued free of charge by all diplomatic and consulary Romanian representations, as well as at the Romanian borders. One simply needs a valid passport; forms and photographs are not required.

Vatican Nomination of Hierarchs Criticized

AU1603215390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1955 GMT 16 Mar 90

["Religious Life—An Unprecendented Situation in Romania's Relations With the Vatican"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/3/1990—The Romanian minister of religious affairs, Professor Nicolae Stoicescu stated: We were surprised and concerned to learn the news regarding the appointment by the Vatican of six new hierarchs of the Roman Catholic Church and another five of the Greek Catholic Church without consulting the Romanian state in advance.

Such an unprecedented situation in the history of Romania's relations with the Vatican is, in our opinion, a violation of the principles of international law observed in all countries.

One should remind the fact that a concordat was signed between Romania and the Holy See in 1927, ratified in 1929, when it was the object of heated debates in parliament. It stipulated, inter alia, that the setting up of the Catholic and Greek Catholic Eparchies in Romania and the nominations for high hierarchical offices be made by common agreement with the Romanian state.

Although the concordat was denounced in 1948, the Roman Catholic [as received], which accounts for eight per cent of the country's population, continued to function in Romania to the day, being acknowledged de facto but not de jure. It does not have its own statute yet, approved by decree, as the law stipulates. Nevertheless, it enjoys the same treatment as the other denominations acknowledged in Romania.

Mr. Stoicescu stressed that over this period appointments were made by tacitly observing the provisions of the concordat. Even after it was no longer valid, the hierarchs of the Roman Catholic Eparchies in Romania were appointed by common agreement with the Vatican, being recognized by the Romanian state by decree just as the hierarchs of the other denominations.

The unilateral action of the Vatican of setting up eparchies and appointing Catholic hierarchs in Romania creates an undesired precedent for the course of normal relations between Romania and the Vatican, just as between the Romanian state and the Catholic Church in Romania, mr. minister showed.

Under these circumstances, he said, we are of the opinion that the Vatican should act in conformity with the practice used so far, and, when making decisions, it should also have the accord of the Romanian state as

regards both the setting up of new eparchies and the appointment of new hierarchs.

The Romanian minister expressed his hope that the Vatican would take that complaint into account and that an accord would be reached as regards the recognition of the new hierarchs appointed by the Holy Father.

Fratia Trade Union Publishes ARGUMENT

AU1703160690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0904 GMT 17 Mar 90

["Mass Media: ARGUMENT"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/3/1990—The above is the name of the weekly magazine of the "Fratia" Independent Trade Union Confederation. This first issue which appeared a few days ago shows that free trade unions in Romania are "a hope for democracy." "Argument," a "workers' periodical," affirms it wishes to spread the idea that real democracy is not to be conceived of in the absence of strong trade unions.

In a column headlined "Fratia in Dialogue With Solidarity" the weekly carries an interview with Jaromir Peplinsky who represents the Polish trade union. Another interview with Dick Wilson, director of the organizational department of the U.S. AFL-CIO Trade Unions is published under the title "There Is No Free Society Without Free Trade Unions." Articles and commentaries on strikes in Romania, and the position of the emerging free trade unions in various economic units are also printed in the periodical.

Defense Minister Sets Up 'Sons of Regiment'

AU1703180090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] ROMPRES news agency has received the following announcement on behalf of the National Defense Ministry:

Taking account of some proposals and suggestions made by the public in the press, radio, and television, the national defense minister has endorsed the setting up within military units of the institution "The Sons of the Regiment" [Fiii Regimentului]. Our Army has a long-standing tradition in this respect. This institution of the Army's children came into being in 1861 and continued during various stages of our Army's development up to 1948.

Priority in being admitted to this institution will be given to orphans or children coming from families facing financial difficulties and only to boys between 12-14 years of age, who are in good psychological and physical shape.

Admittance will be made on a contract basis and with the consent of the parents or tutor, beginning 1 August 1990.

The maximum number of children who may be raised in Army units is 15 children in mechanized regiments and 10 children in the other regiments, battalions, of military units.

The draft regulations-instructions on the activity that is going to be carried out by these young people, their schooling and professional training obligations, as well as their rights and duties will be submitted to the relevant authorities in April.

Iron Guards Demand Legal Status; Make Threats

AU1703180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1647 GMT 17 Mar 90

["Political Life: The Iron Guard Are Not Kidding"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/3/1990— The editor's office of the newspaper "DESTEPTAREA" received another menacing letter Saturday, 17 March, the second in the last three weeks, with a picture of Hitler enclosed, showing him to make a speech. It is a coloured picture from a foreign publication accompanied by the following text: The Fuehrer's spirit has not died. He lives through us and will revive through us. The day is coming closer.

We the Iron Guard warn you the one from "DESTEPTAREA" to publish our advertisement with no comments: "We summon the present leadership of Romania to acknowledge by law the existence of our party till 23 March."

We warn you the Iron Guard are not kidding. We consider Romania is in danger now and history calls on us to be its saviours. Many of those who will stand in our path will pay with their lives. It does not matter the methods we use.

Death and extermination are justified in case of necessity.

We tell you again: Till 23 March 1990 the present leadership of the country will have to make the liberty of our existence legal. Otherwise we are going to take action. Our adversaries will weep for their dead. Heil Hitler. We will win.

Gunman Pushes Toward Tudjman at Rally

LD1903000490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, March 18 (TANJUG)—An armed person, still unidentified, pushed his way on Sunday through the crowd towards a platform from which leader of the Croatian Democratic Union Franjo Tudjman was addressing a rally at Benkovac near Zadar, on central Adriatic coast.

The attack was prevented and the gunman, injured in the [words indistinct] was taken to hospital in a police car. There is still no official report on the incident, because of which the rally to set up the party's branch organization in Benkovac was interrupted.

The Croatian Democratic Union was founded recently as a party of a distinctly nationalistic orientation.

At the rally, attended by about 7,000 people, a division took place between Serbs and Croats—the followers and opponents of the Union and Franjo Tudjman—and a direct fight between them was prevented by timely intervention of the police. [passage omitted]

Further on Rally

LD1803155790 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1435 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Excerpt] In Benkovac, the founding assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community was held today under extremely difficult circumstances. The assembly was interrupted by force after an unidentified man forced his way through the crowd gathered there, brandishing a gun and heading toward the stage where Franjo Tudjman was speaking. From the very beginning it was obvious that the meeting was not to proceed peacefully, for even before it began members of the Serbian nationality were shouting the slogans familiar from the Petrova Gora rally, and a potrait of Slobodan Milosevic was also in evidence. A few flags carried on the other side did not have the characteristics of the Republic of Croatia either.

In such an atmosphere, the first speaker appealed to all 7,000 present to patiently tolerate the provocations launched by a group of 300 members of the Serbian nationality, who reacted to every mention of the name of Croatia with booing and abuse.

Krpina said that the program of the Croatian Democratic Community is a program for every citizen of Croatia regardless of nationality, religion, party membership, etc.

After his address, Franjo Tudjman spoke. He was simultaneously interrupted by applause from one side and booing from the other. A general melee broke out following the attempted attack with arms on Tudjman. The Croatians surged toward the east side where those who wanted to interrupt this meeting, and succeeded in doing so, were stationed. Tudjman's bodyguards managed for 20 minutes or so to defend their president, but the assembly had nevertheless to be called off the moment the throng started moving. At this point, the security service intervened more resolutely and with more men. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Applauded at CDC Imotski Meeting

LD1503182890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Imotski, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—Croatian Democratic Community (CDC) Chairman Dr. Franjo Tudjman attracted around 10,000 people today, at a public meeting in Imotski, who interrupted with ovations and chanting his mostly already known theses and observations, presented in a speech that lasted almost two hours.

Rejecting attacks on the CDC, which is accused of being an extension of the fascist Independent State of Croatia, Tudjman said that the CDC did not want to restore the Independent State of Croatia that the people in Croatia originally accepted when it was first formed, but soon rejected, having seen how Croatia was being portioned off and where it was all leading.

The majority of the Croatian people took the side of the Partisans and Tito, believing in the promise that they would have their own state free from anybody's hegemony. The Independent State of Croatia committed crimes, but crimes were committed against the Croatian people from Foca and beyond by the Chetniks and the Partisans, although no one mentions these. We do not want the former Independent State of Croatia, but we are not going to give an inch in creating a free and sovereign state of Croatia, Tudjman stressed inter alia.

The largest meeting so far in Imotski passed without any incidents and slogan shouting, only "Franjo, Franjo" was shouted and chanted in a setting decorated only with big Croatian tricolor flags with checkerboards [the traditional Croatian coat of arms]. An attempt to bring out the Croatian tricolor with a red star was stoped with boos, so this meeting also remained without any sign of either socialist or Yugoslav symbols.

The public meeting started and ended with the anthem "Our Beautiful Country" [the national anthem of the Independent State of Croatia] sung by the people. Local CDC leader Jurica Situ concluded the meeting with the words: "May love of our homeland unite us and God preserve us in the days to come," and announced that the CDC, as soon as it comes to power, will invite the pope to visit Croatia.

A good number of inhabitants of neighboring Hercegovina attended the meeting, as well as guests from other parts of Croatia, and even the CDC representatives from Vienna came to Imotski especially for this occasion.

Croatian Coalition Leaders Promise Changes

LD1803130690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2050 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, March 17 (TANJUG)—Radical changes in the economic and political system by peaceful democratic means were promised on Saturday by leaders of the Coalition of People's Agreement at an election meeting which was held in Zagreb, capital of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia, and attended by nearly 6,000 people.

Political principles of the coalition, which includes six of the over 20 newly formed political parties in Croatia, were explained by member of its executive and independent candidate Miko Tripalo. He and Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, who closed the meeting, were senior republican and federal officials before 1971.

This was their first public appearance after being replaced as party officials and removed from political scene 19 years ago for advocating national-chauvinist policies in the Republic of Croatia.

Tripalo promised that the Coalition of People's Agreement, proceeding from the right of self-determination including the right of secession, will strive for a sovereign state if winning next month's parliamentary elections in Croatia. He argued that the coalition was opposed to both changing the Yugoslav and republican borders, and setting up autonomous regions within Croatia.

Savka Dabcevic-Kucar added that the coalition was a priori neither for, nor against Yugoslavia and that its attitude would depend on "what Yugoslvia will look like." She said that the coalition was drafting its own economic program, but admitted that changes cannot be brought about more quickly or easily.

In contrast with the view of the extremist Croatian Democratic Union, which sees alleged aspirations of the Croatian people for an independent state as deriving from the war-time Quisling state, coalition leaders admit that the so-called independent state of Croatia was a "fascist creation."

Program of Croat LC-Party of Democratic Changes

LD1803073190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Summary] Rijeka, 17 Mar (TANJUG)—Over a thousand members and other citizens of Rijeka today attended the presentation on the program of the Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Changes of this city. Communists from this city, it was stated at the ceremony, will never betray the interests of either Croat, Serbian, Italian, or any other nation or nationality living in the Rijeka region and will be ready to cooperate with all those who favor democratic changes.

Party Election Broadcast

LD1603221590

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croat at 1605 GMT on 16 March carries a 30-minute election broadcast on behalf of the Croat League of Communists [LC]-Party of Democratic change by LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Presidium member Ivica Racan.

Racan speaks about the party's electoral program, saying that one of its key aims is to provide for the smooth transition to a multiparty system. The announcer asks why the party has changed its name, to which Racan says that the party has already dispensed with a great deal of what was typical of its former self, so it is only natural to mark this stage of its transformation by a revised name.

Over the past three months, he says, the Croat LC has demonstrated its definitive abandoment of the old organizational principles. The LCY has disintegrated due to its inherent shortcomings. It is likely that the hard-line LC members will set up a new LCY that will continue to operate along its old guidelines.

The announcer poses the question of the formation of autonomous provinces within Croatia. Racan resolutely declines the possibility of forming new provinces in Croatia. He finds the debate about the future federal arrangement stifled by terminological paraphernalia, since it is of marginal importance whether it will be called federation or not. His party will insist on those solutions that can provide every nation with equal rights.

Racan is asked about the recently raised issue of Croatia's alarmingly low birthrate. Racan say that this is too a complex issue to be tackled solely by political means.

Concluding, he notes that the demand for joining his party has been on the increase.

New Coalition in Croatia Presents Program

LD1603092590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The newly formed election coalition in Croatia has serious ambitions to bring followers into the Croat Assembly. Four organizations presented the joint coalition program with which they will go into the elections in Zagreb today. They named the program "The European Green List" [Evropska Zelena Lista].

The alliance says it is "a trans-ideological coalition of social and political forces, joined together by some concrete political goals." So far, the following are members of the European Green List coalition: the Autonomous Democratic Croat Alliance, the Radical Association for the United States of Europe, the Zagreb Green Action, and the Independent Union of the Unemployed from Zagreb.

Among the main principles of the coalition, the first on the list is the call for a referendum, as soon as possible, regarding Croatia and Yugoslavia joining the European Community.

Environmental protection, according to this coalition, is "tantamount to the fundamental change of man's attitude toward nature."

"The rights of individuals can be limited only by the rights of others," is the next principle of the coalition, which is advocating "the establishment of nonauthoritarian, nonviolent, and democratic relations in society."

The European Green List is against "anticivilization demands for the limitation of some elementary rights of women," so it will promote "the preservation of the already achieved rights of women."

The coalition will put special emphasis on the rights of minorities and marginalized social groups.

The European Green List is an open coalition, which other parties, organizations, and independent candidates can join.

At today's presentation to the public, the coalition announced the possibility that the Social Democratic Alliance of Croatia, that is, of Yugoslavia, will soon join the coalition.

The coalition of the European Green List announced that Zagreb, Sibenik, Rijeka, and Osijek will be the main election centers at which candidates for deputies and committee members will be presented. The European Green List is willing to support independent candidates. It announced that it will publicly denounce all other candidates who, in the eyes of the coalition, are not appropriate candidates.

Croat Peasant Party Officials Explain Program

LD1603141990

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1605 GMT on 14 March carries an "Elections '90" program featuring representatives of the Croat Peasant Party.

As the program begins, the announcer welcomes to the studio party Vice President Jure Sonje, Executive Committee President Mato Jukic, and Executive Committee Boris Svel.

Jure Sonje explains that the party was founded at the beginning of the 20th century and was named "Peasant Party" because at that time 85 percent of the Croatian population was farmers. Today, in spite of the fact that only around 40 percent of the Croatian population is farmers, it retains the name due to one of its basic goals: to revitalize farming, to give it fresh impetus and improve the living conditions in villages, he says.

Sonje says that the party's ideology rests on three basic civil concepts: freedom, peace, and human rights. Today, when the communist hureaucratic system is falling apart, these are the main concepts that can revitalize the Croatian people and form the basis for a modern civil ideology, he continues. The party's slogan is: Faith in God and Croatian Unity.

Sonje further explains that there should be no limits to private property, owing to the fact that the means of production are no longer means of exploitation, which is clearly visible from the good living standard of the working class in Western countries.

The announcer then says that unofficial reports put party membership at around 5,000. Sonje says that the party does not expect large support in Zagreb, but is forming a number of branches throughout Croatia.

Mato Jukic then portrays a future Croatia according to their ideology: A sovereign republic of Croatia should join the EC in 1992 and until then it should exist as a sovereign republic within the Yugoslav confederation of completely free republics.

The announcer notes the party's change of heart on boycotting the spring elections, previously calling for autumn elections, and their desire to join the Coalition of National Accord. Jukic notes that a boycott of elections is now historically pointless and that the party has been accepted into the Coalition.

The announcer says that there are a lot of other nations and nationalities living in Croatia. The party's stand toward Serbs is explained by Sonje: The Serbian people living in Croatia cannot found its own state because the Serbian people have already realized a state in Serbia; the Serbian people living in Croatia cannot have territorial autonomy, because they live in areas that have been historically important for the Croatian state since its foundation; the Serbian people living in Croatia can enjoy all national and cultural rights. The same stand applies to all other nations and nationalities living in Croatia, he concludes.

At the end of the discussion, Boris Svel presents the party's ecological program, saying that ecology is a question of civilizational duty and obligation and not a question of fashion. He says that there is no development without preservation of the environment.

News Vendors Fined for Selling Croat Stickers

LD1603001190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Officials of the Zagreb internal affairs secretariat this afternoon confiscated 329 stickers depiciting a red-white-blue tricolor that news vendors were selling together with party publications at Zagreb's Republic Square. Four news vendors have been charged with public peace-and-order offenses under Article 24 of the Law on Public Peace and Order Offenses.

According to a statement made at a news conference at the Zagreb Internal Affairs Secretariat, the stickers measuring 7.5 by 5.5 centimeters did not have the usual socalist symbols. The red star in the middle of the white area was replaced by a checkerboard [symbol of the Croat state].

Two of the vendors admitted selling newspapers and stickers on behalf of the HDS [Croat Democratic Alliance]; the other two said the stickers were given to them by "a person."

Representatives of the Zagreb Internal Affairs Secretariat this evening warned that they would continue to act in line with the existing law against actions and deeds that did not comply with legal regulations.

Croatia Justice Secretariat Denies Serb Claims

LD0503221890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—It is absolutely untrue that in the Socialist Repubic of Croatia anyone has been called to account, and even less punished, just for being a member of the Serbian or any other nation. This claim is malicious, aimed at destroying the brotherhood and unity between the Croat and Serbian peoples, and not just in the Socialist Republic of Croatia but in all Yugoslavia. Only people with dishonest motives can think of making such a claim.

This was stressed in the statement by the republican Secretariat for Justice and Administration of the Socialist Republic of Croatia in regard to the recent statement of the Zora Serbian Cultural Society, published in POLITIKA EKSPRES (on 14 January 1990) entitled "Jasenovac Methods." The article claims: "Terror over Serbs in Croatia, even legalized, is starting to assume proportions that neither Yugoslav nor the world public should ignore."

Another claim made by the Zora that people are jailed only for shaking hands with the Zora President Jovan Opacic, falls in the same category of malicious claims, the statement says.

In order to understand why people were sentenced for minor offenses, it is necessary first to present true facts, and not arbitrary claims. Namely, during the celebration marking the Battle of Kosovo in the Knin region in July 1989, a group of citizens threw stones on the stage and, making loud noises, tried to disturb the choir and to end the celebration and allow Jovan Opacic to speak, which they succeeded in doing. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek Calls for Human Rights Legislation

LD1803070690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1052 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek called the Federal Parliament to speed up amending the criminal legislation towards expanded human rights and freedoms in the country and step up the [words indistinct] process of introducing political pluralism.

Amendments to Yugoslavia's criminal legislation should be carried out by April, given the activities related to Yugoslavia's joining the Council of Europe, it was set out in the today published letter of Drnovsek conveyed to President of the Federal Parliament Slobodan Gligorijevic.

The amendments regard the abrogation of a number of "political" offences from the Yugoslav criminal legislation which, as Drnovsek assessed, have been transcended and have become a hindrance to free political expression and multi-party association.

Drnvosek Letter Urges Assembly To Speed Changes

LD1703230290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0814 GMT 17 Mar 90

[Letter sent by SFRY Presidency President Dr. Janez Drnovsek to SFRY Assembly President Dr. Slobodan Gligorijevic on 16 March]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Mar (TANJUG)— Comrade president, the democratic processes in the world and in Europe are also spreading to all spheres of sociopolitical life in our society. A part of these democratic processes is, of course, the creation of wider conditions for freedom of expression and multiparty association, free elections, and other forms of expressing pluralism and interests. We have committed ourselves to the removal of obstacles to these processes. One of the obstacles is, of course, the continuation in our legal system of criminal sanctions that have not only to a considerable extent been superseded in our development so far, but have also become a hindrance to it. The SFRY Presidency at one time examined the activities for changing the criminal legislation and established the need for speeding up these activities, and this was also mentioned in the SFRY Presidency's report submitted recently to the SFRY Assembly.

Proceeding from this, as well as from the evident need for the rapid creation of all conditions for the further development of pluralism, and in connection with this, widening the scope of human rights and freedoms, as SFRY Presidency president, I appeal to the SFRY Assembly to speed up the processes of changing our criminal legislation. The SFRY Asembly and its bodies, considering their social function and authority, are primarily called on to create all the conditions necessary for speeding up the reform processes in society, including the political sphere for which the provisions of the criminal legislation are an essential element. A modern criminal legislation based on democratic principles will have a positive influence on the possibility of our further inclusion in European integration.

Considering the expectations of the Yugoslav public and the planned activities for our joining the European Council, the changes in the criminal legislation should be carried out by the end of April this year.

[Signed] Dr. Janez Drnovsek.

Drnovsek Pays Visit to Ljubljana

LD1603230890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek stayed in Ljubljana today and visited the Slovenijales international enterprise where the enterprise Chairman Dr. Matija Askof informed him about the economic position and developmental plans of Slovenijales.

Dr. Janez Drnovsek stressed in talks that it is necessary to persist with the Yugoslav program of economic reforms, the convertibiltiy of the dinar, and price stability.

Elections Center on 'Very Existence' of Nation

LD1603214990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1517 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Fate of the federal government's programme will depend on whether the forces advocating federation or confederation will win the first free, democratic and multiparty parliamentary elections in postwar Yugoslavia, the Belgrade weekly NIN estimates in its latest number.

The paper says the government reform options are based on Yugoslavia's federative system, while forces advocating secession or confederation may win in some parts of the country, above all in the northwestern republics of Slovenia and Croatia. If this happens, the programme of Prime Minister Markovic will lose all relevancy. Thus it is becoming clear that the main controversy is over the very existence of Yugoslavia, not whether the programme is "inflationary" or "anti-inflationary," writes NIN.

The cabinet of Prime Minister Markovic took over exactly a year ago, and many now assess his reform programme as the country's only and strongest integrating factor, notes the weekly.

It says that leaders of new political parties in Slovenia and Croatia only verbally accept Markovic's programme while putting conditions which jeopardize it in all essential points. Their victory at the elections would mean not only a fall of Markovic's government but also an end of Yugoslavia, concludes NIN.

Criminal Charges Against Ibro Osmani Dropped

LD1603201490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—By the decision of Investigative Judge Dobrica Lazic, criminal charges against Ibro Osmani, the former head of the Center for Information and Propaganda Activities of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium, were dropped today.

After the miners' strike in Stari Trg and Albanian demonstrations in February last year, Osmani was charged with the criminal act of posing a counterrevolutionary danger to the social order. After these events, Ibro Osmani spent 227 days in isolation and detention.

The decision to drop criminal charges was made on the basis of the opinion of the public prosecutor in Pristina.

Four New Political Parties Registered

LD1603164790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] The Croat Committee for Administration and Justice announced that 31 political parties have been registered so far in the republic. [words indistinct] In the course of this week, four more parties were registered: the Democratic Union of Albanians in Croatia; the Movement for Confederation; the Rijeka Democratic Alliance; and the Party of Independent Democracy with headquarters in Rijeka. The republican committee notes that the Croat Socialist Youth Federation and the Croat Green Alliance, which legally do not have the status of political, but social organizations and that will stand in the elections with their own candidates, are among the 31 registered parties.

Federal Assembly Adopts Laws on Insurance

LD1603161890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0914 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Property and life insurance organizations will in the future be set up as joint-stock public and mixed companies. The founders, that is the investors, will manage these organizations in accordance with the amount of deposit placed and bear risks up to the amount of invested funds. This is the gist of the law on property and life insurance that the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber adopted at the beginning of its session today.

It is the duty of insurance organizations to find the means for their funds for damage compensation, for payments to policy holders, and for the prevention of risks that threaten policy holders.

This law also proposes solutions that prevent the outflow of insurance and reinsurance funds abroad.

Life insurance will have the character of long-term savings and mixed companies will not be able to deal with these operations.

Federal Chamber To Adopt Law on Associations

LD1603144590 Belgade TANJUG in English 2245 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—A draft law on the association of citizens in social organisations and associations, with which a multi-party system will be legalized in Yugoslavia, will be adopted at one of the future sessions of the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber, it was decided in the Yugoslav parliament this evening.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Ante Markovic's federal government, which proposed the law, will be requested to declare itself and submit a report on the criticisms and suggestions expressed in today's and in the earlier debate in the Assembly bodies.

Addressing the delegates of the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber, Justice and Federal Administration Secretary Vladimir Kambovski said that the legal foundation for the adoption of the law lies in the constitutional amendments adopted in 1988.

Assessing that the present constitution, in general principles, did not limit the possibility of political organization or the list of political organizations whose status would be regulated by the law on the association of citizens, Kambovski said that the adoption of the law would create the legal frameworks for the work of political organizations, ensure the public quality of their work, and set a minimum of "rules of the game" in order to prevent the abuse of democracy.

Radio Station To Drop Tito Allegiance Oath

LD1603155490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 16 Mar 90

[Summary] Sarajevo, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—Radio Sarajevo has decided to omit the oath of allegiance to Tito from the signature tune of its main news bulletin beginning next month. This radio station also wishes it to be known that the main reason for the change is to update the background music of its daily news broadcasts and make it more modern.

Valjevo Liberals To Put Tito's Work on Trial

AU1903085190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 90 p 2

[P.V. report: "Public Trial for Josip Broz's Work"]

[Text] Valjevo—Liberal Party of Valjevo President Aleksandar Stefanovic yesterday told journalists that on 24 March this party will put the works of Josip Broz Tito on a public trial. As we have been informed, Vojislav Seselj will be the prosecutor. The party nominated writer Borislav Mihajlovic Mihiz as judge.

According to what Stefanovic said, Stane Dolanc, Josip Vrhovec, Dr. Stipe Suvar, Ivica Racan, Jovanka Broz, and Savic Rabrenovic, literary adviser from Valjevo, will be invited to act as defenders.

The liberals from Valjevo expect that all the seats in the Valjevo Culture Hall, where this symbolic trial is going to be held, will be taken.

The liberals from Valjevo have also asked all owners of restaurants and other public facilities to remove the picture of Josip Broz Tito from the walls of their premises.

Federal Officials' Mandates Extended

LD1603135290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly adopted at the end of today's session the proposal of the constitutional law whereby the mandate of delegates and officials in the SFRY Assembly and the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and of the National Bank of Yugoslavia governor is to be extended until the end of this year at the latest.

The FEC had originally proposed 31 July as the deadline, but it was agreed by working bodies today that it should be 15 November. A group of 34 delegates had earlier proposed that the end of the year should be the final deadline for extending the mandate in order to have more time for producing constitutional and legal presuppositions for multiparty elections. The amendment of the group of delegates was adopted in a majority vote.

Until 25 March, the republican and provincial assemblies should vote for or against this constitutional law, which should be proclaimed immediately afterward at the session of the Federal Chamber.

Kramberger on 'Elections 90' TV Program

AU1803212990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 90 p 2

[D.D. report: "Kramberger 'Speaks Out'"]

[Text] Ljubljana—Just when it appeared that the program "Elections 90" on the first channel of Ljubljana television was going to end as an academic crossing of swords by various parties' leaders and candidates for the president of Slovenia, "independent candidate" Ivan Kramberger came forth. Before him, Dr. Joze Pucnik, the representative of the united opposition, and Milan Kucan, candidate of the left-wing parties, spoke very calmly. Kramberger first addressed them and then turned to Joze Smole:

"First of all, I must say that I almost fell asleep listening to you. Some viewers must have felt the same way. I expected more from you, but you just went on repeating

yourself. We heard Mister-Comrade Smole mentioning all the things that he would do, and yet 50 years have gone by and they have done nothing. Now they want to do everything in order to prevent waste. Just look at the Stajerska region. Both Maribor and Stajerska used the be the most advanced regions before and after the war. Today they are ruined.

"Who else is to blame for that but Communists? They are now trying to wash their hands, trying to convince us that they are not responsible, and are founding new parties. Then we had Pucnik whom I did not like either. He too is confused and is afraid to speak. Slovenia must be a Slovene state and nothing else. I will fight for this even if I had to give my life for it. Everybody is talking about clean air, clean water, a life without power stations, but how will we live without all this. We must have industry. I am in favor of clean air and clean water too, but let us not talk nonsense. If there are no factories there will be no bread."

FEC Official Presents Government's Plans

AU1803211890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 90 pp 1,3

[M. Dapcevic report: "Faster Aid to Exports"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The federal government will not abandon its policy of a fixed exchange rate for the dinar, personal incomes, and prices that are under control in the infrastructure of the economy because they are the main instruments of the economic reform—this was stated by Darko Marin at a news conference repeating the stand of the government in response to "frequent demands from the public" for, in particular, the devaluation of the dinar, and pressures for increases in personal incomes.

When the convertible dinar gains enough strength, Marin said, we will allow it to fluctuate normally, that is, to go up and down in relation to other convertible currencies. Its value will be determined by a restrictive monetary policy. The government's intention is to leave personal incomes to be regulated by collective agreements, and prices by the market, except those in the infrastructure where they will remain under the government's control since we are mainly talking about monopolies. [passage omitted]

Darko Marin presented the journalists with the facts and reasons that led to the replacement of the chief federal market inspector by mainly retelling the statement issued by the government regarding this case. There was only one new piece of information: Out of 126 cases of break in economic cooperation between Serbian and Slovenia firms that were reported by the Economic Chamber of Slovenia, the federal market inspectorate carried an investigation in only eight cases. The fact that the market inspector had only been on that job for 60 days does not make his responsibility any less because cooperation continues to be paralyzed and this significantly affects the unity of the federal market.

At the end of his talk with journalists, Darko Marin explained the reasons why the government proposed (with the Law on the Crossing of State Borders) that the border strip, within which custom checks can be performed, be extended from 100 to 1,000 meters. Reacting in fact to sharp criticism that came from some parts of the country, Marin said that the main reason for extending the border strip is to prevent illegal traffic of drugs, arms, and asylum seekers. [passage omitted]

'Political Manipulation' of Church Viewed

AU1803182990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 90 p 7

[Ivica Mlivoncic commentary reprinted from Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA; date not given: "Manipulation of the Church Without Its Blessing"]

[Text] ...The church press, particularly GLAS KONCILA, has given much space to the new changes in society and, as regards political issues, it adheres to the principles that have been proclaimed by the bishops and that are also the messages of the Vatican Council. It is interesting to note that in its commentaries the religious press has not succumbed to the anti-Communist wave that was started by some political parties and individuals. GLAS KONCILA has even gallantly recognized the Communists' wisdom in leading the present political moment and their willingness to accept changes. This does not exclude a critical attitude about the Communists' activities in the past.

GLAS KONCILA gives much space in its editorial commentaries to affirming the stands of the bishops on political issues. In these, it is made known that the church supports political changes, that a time of national reconciliation is coming, and prominent Communists in organs of authority promise that all those who "have not committed crimes or invoked them" can come into the country, so this could be taken as the limit of national reconciliation. It is very interesting to observe how certain church newspapers present the political parties in Croatia. GLAS KONCILA has already written about the Croatian Democratic Community and the Croatian Democratic Party. KANA has behaved somewhat differently. It has given space to representatives of the Croatian Democratic Party, the Croatian Democratic Community, the Croatian Christian Democratic Party, the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, the Radical Party for the unification of the European State, the Social-Democratic Alliance, and the League of Communists. In alphabetical order, the representatives of these parties have briefly put forward their programs.

The entire position of the Catholic Church regarding the political processes in the country can be summed up in what GLAS KONCILA of 7 January 1990 summarized in the message: "The church as an institution must depoliticize so that its followers can politicize themselves as responsibly and as much as possible as citizens." On another occasion, GLAS KONCILA polemicized with those political parties that have religious

elements in their names and that invoke the social doctrine of the church. The church has not authorized anyone to call their party Christian (the Croatian Christian Democratic Party) or even Catholic (the Croatian Catholic Party—as this party is being called while it is being set up), but equally, the church's social doctrine is not reserved only for one or two political parties because this teaching gives the church's guidance to Catholics in their political and social activities.

Certain trends in modern political events among the Croatian people consider this position taken by the church to be a pragmatic and intentional or unintentional allegiance to a weakened regime that is against the feelings of the people.

Religion, the church, and the clergy are being manipulated for transparent political motives and aims, and this is resisted by GLAS KONCILA too in its editorial commentary. Many people think that they will find support in religion and the church for their political options and, in this respect, do not shrink from manipulating religious feelings. This manipulation was fully expressed at the assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community. The Lisinski hall echoed with invocations of religion and the church and of the fateful link between the Croatian people and religion. It was unpleasant to hear that the authority of the head of the "Croatian Church" had been manipulated at the assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community. Cardinal Kuharic did not send a telegram of support to the assembly; he did not receive representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community but emigrants who had come to Zagreb for this occasion; mass was not held in Zagreb Cathedral for members of the Croatian Democratic Community but for emigrants.

Manipulation of Cardinal Kuharic has several motives. There was certainly the desire to create the impression in the public that everything that he said at the assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community and on other occasions was only tactics and not a deeper attitude. There was undoubtedly the desire to manipulate Cardinal Kuharic in order to create the impression in the believing masses that he supports the Croatian Democratic Community. Thus, the actual assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community was deeply discredited in the eyes of Catholics and it was shown that this is a political party that does not even shrink from using crude manipulation to achieve its political aims. It is now more obvious that sincere believers will believe their bishops more than the political manipulators in the Croatian Democratic Community.

Kucan Addresses Zagreb Election Meeting

LD1603150490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2341 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, March 15 (TANJUG)—Candidate for the president of the republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan said on Thursday evening that for his party, the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform, the confederate status of Slovenia is "the way to preserve Yugoslavia."

Addressing a meeting in Zagreb, Kucan said that the attitude towards Yugoslavia is one of the major points in which his party differs from the opposition, since to some from the Slovenian opposition, a confederation is only a "necessary evil on the path to secession."

Kucan underlined that his party was not for Yugoslavia at all costs, but that Yugoslavia remains its "first choice."

Expressing the hope that Slovenia would not secede from Yugoslavia after all, Kucan said that such a tendency was nevertheless gaining support among the Slovenian public.

Referring to the situation before the first free elections in Slovenia since world war two, Kucan criticized oposition parties for campaigning with pronounced revanchism and anti-communism, and because their programs lack vision on Slovenia's democratic future.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Demands Action

LD0203142790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1032 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Most frequently, republican governments address the Federal Executive Council [FEC] in connection with some economic, monetary, or administrative problems. However, yesteday the Assembly Executive Council of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Bosnia-Hercegovina directly asked the FEC and the Assembly Executive Council of the SR of Croatia to observe the Constitution and law from the point of view of duties of executive bodies. The reason for this is clear: the activity of leading people of the newly founded Croat Democratic Community and its counterpart from Pazova [Serbian Revival Party]. Statements regarding possibilities and intents to redraw borders of socialist republics—in this specific case of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and regarding appropriation of whole nations, in this case Muslims—most blatantly violate the regulations of both the federal and republican constitution and the appropriate laws. On account of its constitutional and legal responsibility, the Assembly Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina can neither overlook this nor treat it just as customoary party overstatements, even if it wants to.

The latest statements by Franjo Tudjman, Vuk Draskovic, Vojislav Seselj, lawyer Vladimir Seks, and others, undoubtedly illustrate the point that the situation has become serious. War veterans' gatherings throughout Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as meetings of workers and citizens, express indignation and protest against tolerating such activity. They openly express dumbfoundness over the fact that competent state bodies are loosing their sense of which activities are permitted and which

forbidden by the Constitution and law, irrespective of whether or not their propagators are officially registered.

People here are asking themselves aloud: Should we start a civil war in order to prevent what everyone can hear and see. Obviously, under the pretext of democracy, but indeed by abusing democracy, very aggressive and even militant assaults on the fundamental values and principles of our constitutional system, even on the very prerequisits of human existance in this space, are going on. Therefore, we categorically demand from the FEC, from the executive councils of all our republics and provinces, that they prevent this by simply enforcing the existing federal and republican constitutions and laws.

For this reason, the demand of the Assembly Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina sent to the FEC and to the republican Executive Council of the SR of Croatia, is regarded not just as urgent, but as cautionary, before things get out of hand.

Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Elects New President

LD0203221590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Summary] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—In a secret ballot today, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference today elected Dr. Mirko Pejanovic its new president.

Youth Forum Founded in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD0303073790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Youth Forum demands that the Federal Executive Council commission for establishing facts about the transgression and abuse of power by some members of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in Kosovo make public, by 1 April this year, all such cases that resulted in the loss of life. If this deadline is not met, the Forum will launch an action for the withdrawal from Kosovo of members of the joint units from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This decision was reached at today's meeting of the initiative committee for the founding of a new independent political organization of young people in this republic, the Youth Forum. The meeting in the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee was also attended by three members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee Presidium.

Commentary Views Croatian Democratic Community

AU0203162790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 90 p 6

[Ljiljana Smajlovic commentary reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE; date not given: "Totalitarianism"]

[Text] According to Belgrade, we are neo-Ustashas; according to Croatian apprentices, we are Bolsheviks; and according to official politicians, we are nationalists, Franjo Tudjman has allegedly been complaining recently, without hiding his pleasure at making enemies of exactly these sides. Tudjman is the unquestionable leader of the Croatian Democratic Community, the political party that pompously held its first general assembly on the weekend with about 2,000 delegates and guests attending. This was the first founding congress of a nonsocialist and noncommunist party in our country, and it began on the very day when the election race for 360 delegate seats in the Assembly was opened in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. If the already contested claims about its 2,000 members are to be believed, then as regards the number of members, the Croatian Democratic Community represents a very serious rival to the League of Communists of Croatia at these elections.

Therefore, Franjo Tudjman is a reality that has to be faced, since it is already too late to be scandalized by his phenomenon, even if it is really scandalous. Arrogance is by no means an incidental or his only marginal characteristic or of his party's appearance in political life. Tudjman does not only want to have power, he wants to have literally everything. A political appetite unequalled on this territory at the moment made him open his mouth for such a big bite that probably nobody can swallow. On the same day and in the same breath, he declared the independent state of Croatia to be the expression of a centuries-old striving of the Croatian people for their autonomous state, and proclaimed himself an heir to the ideas of the Croatian left. At the same time, he said that there is a problem of historical and natural borders of Croatia and questioned the borders of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but the statement that he is thereby provoking a civil war made him feel provoked. In the same breath, he added that Bosnia-Hercegovina is a national state of the Croat people and that the Muslim nation does not exist, even from an Islamic point of view. (He personally harbors no doubts as to what the majority of Muslims are—he considers them to be "a constituent part of the Croatian national corps [korpus]") He praised his party as being the most Croatian, but then immediately afterward proclaimed it to be adverse to any national intolerance. He proclaimed himself to be a continuation of the "vertical line going from Starcevic via Radic to the Croatian leftists," as well as of Tito's federalism (he considers federalism to be Tito's only positive historical result, but then immediately adds that Yugoslavia can be set up only as a confederation).

Tudjman's success is an ominous confirmation of the farsightedness shown in the warnings that the more one postpones the transformation to a healthy multiparty system, the smaller will be the chance of leftists dominating the future constellation of political forces. Tudjman's rise is also proof that a transition from a one-party state into a totalitarian state can happen to us easily. Of course, the challenge of totalitarianism exists both in the

left and in the right. However, the society is democratic if it has both rightists and leftist parties, and it is totalitarian if one party is imposing itself on the whole, thereby destroying social life. It is for that reason that the League of Communists has found itself troubled and stepping down from the stage. However, will our past be waiting for us around the corner at the moment when we are convinced that we are turning a new leaf?

Tudjman wants to conquer everything and, which is even worse, he wants to be everything. Some people say he is a neo-Ustasha, others that he is a Bolshevik, and the third ones that he is just a nationalist. This seems to be more than mere malice on the part of his political rivals in the election race. Franjo Tudjman seems to be capable of getting the worst of everything.

Bosnia's 'Gorbachev,' 'Yeltsin' Viewed

AU0103145290 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Feb 90 p 2

[Zeljko Vukovic article: "Confused Danaans"]

[Text] I do not know how much Dr. Nijaz Durakovic, leader of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Communists, really cares about power and what he is able to do in order not to lose it, but I really did not expect that in this struggle with a truly still immature opposition he would politically denigrate and "abuse" a Homer. It has been shown that his opponents expected this even less.

When the "reform wing" of the Bosnia-Hercegovina party unexpectedly tried, at the interrupted congress in the Sava center, to carry out a "putsch" by proposing that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] split into two new parties, Durakovic called on Homer for help. He called those who did not think the same "party Danaans" and showed them the wide-open door. On their return home, the "Danaans" justifiably protested because they were shown the door, but no one said anything about the gifts that they were bearing. And just when it was believed that the "Homeric" hospitality of Durakovic would seriously undermine their firm position, he simply renounced Homer's teaching. More precisely, he developed it. How? By accepting the "Danaans' gifts."

The Mikulic School

These gifts are now on the "electoral table" that Durakovic will offer to the adult citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina. To put it mildly, the Danaans are confused. They were convinced that they would have the same fate after the congress that their "predecessors" had in the Homer scenario. After all, even the first reactions pointed to this fate. However, they were neither sacrificed nor were their gifts thrown away. It now turns out that Durakovic only opened the door to a proposal on splitting the party and not in the least to democratic reform, because all the democratic changes that were offered by the "Danaans" are now being offered by Durakovic.

Political opponents can now do nothing but accuse Dr. Durakovic of "stealing" and of creating an unusual state of political affairs. As regards the first accusation, they would find it difficult to win in court, as nothing original or patented was "stolen." However, the second accusation could "catch on" because it involves Dr. Durakovic's moral right to the status of radical reformer.

It is indisputable that until about 30 days ago, he was a typical graduate of the well-known political school that was based on Bolshevik teaching. Understandably, excellent success in this or similar schools even brought him to the very summit of authority. It is basically his own personal matter what it was that broke in him—and when this happened—for him to become a party radical "overnight." Seen from the perspective of general benefit, this political transformation of the undoubted political champion of Bosnia-Hercegovina is definitely welcome. Because of this, the problem would be how to "force" Dr. Durakovic to remain a reformer until the end and, of course, and how to help him.

The deceived "Danaans," above all Dr. Zdravko Grebo, could be one of the solutions. If Dr. Durakovic is slowly becoming the "Bosnia-Hercegovina Gorbachev" then Grebo could be the basically necessary Yeltsin, as the constant inspector and supplier of "democratic fuel."

Could Durakovic be the "Bosnian Gorbachev"? Despite the inappropriateness of any analogy, the reply could be in the affirmative. Was not Gorbachev, for example, until recently energetically against the multiparty system but now its promoter. Durakovic grew up in the Mikulic school and the Munir Mesihovic department, and Gorbachev grew up in the Brezhnev school, and so on....

Similarities are also obvious as regards political tactics. Durakovic most obviously demonstrated his leader's pragmatism by harnessing the "party lobby" in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina against the proposal to ban party activity in enterprises and state administration. The reason is clear. In the present political and social circumstances, withdrawal into local communities could cost the Bosnia-Hercegovina party the loss of the majority of its members! Many dissatisfied people would hardly wait for this opportunity to quietly and imperceptibly steal away from the League of Communists (this way they are still in a quandary and unwilling to make a decision) and there is also a not inconsiderable number of those who would leave the party simply because they do not like to carry their party documents.

This risk has been avoided. In reply to the accusation that politics remaining in enterprises naturally means the survival of the party monopoly, Durakovic said with definite political demagoguery that it was not true because other parties can organize themselves according to the work principle. The fact that possible political opponents cannot in practical terms take advantage of this opportunity obviously does not concern him.

A Lover of Truth With No Ambitions

However, in political pluralism, demagoguery is also a strong weapon and is even used in the most democratic societies. Of course, in the places where equally ambitious parties operate, demagoguery is only resorted to in extreme need. Durakovic is at the moment as straight as a die. Before he accepted the "Danaans' gifts," he did everything to deprive potential Communist political competitors of any chance of appearing at the next elections at least with symbolic prospects of success. Such "pre-reform" policy was nevertheless superficial and Durakovic needlessly harmed himself with it. Even assuming that the Communists in Bosnia-Hercegovina lose the elections, this defeat would mean their victory because there is no political force outside the League of Communists on the political stage of this republic that could hold power in its hands! Years and years are needed to set up a party capable of this.

There is no doubt that Zdravko Grebo would be the best "Bosnian Yeltsin." A respected lover of truth and fighter for democracy, were it not for him, the question is whether Durakovic would have become a reformer. When his good and bad points are compared, Grebo is not suitable for the role of leader. Apart from that, he does not have such ambitions himself. The political program that Durakovic is now advocating is Grebo's work. In this fact lies his motive for zealously undertaking the role of inspector of the party leader. Were it not for the political clash between Durakovic and Grebo, Bosnia-Hercegovina would have waited even longer for its "perestroyka." The criticism that the political program of the Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina looks too much like the Slovene program is not justified. Not even the Slovenes invented democracy. What seems to be the most crucial thing is that the Slovene prescription has only partly been taken up. Specifically, no one has taken up the elements that mean democracy with a national characteristic and the removal of the federation's powers. In spite of everything, in Slovenia the Slovene is in the foreground and in Bosnia-Hercegovina this is the citizen. National democracy would be lethal for the middle republic. True, it will not please the other Yugoslav states either, which are building the future with national programs, but their road to the results is considerably longer and therefore harder to observe.

A possible "pact" between Durakovic and Grebo—on the Gorbachev-Yeltsin principle—would undoubtedly mean new optimism that "Bosnian perestroyka" will not remain only a hastily given promise. Of course, this would also mean that the Communists would continue to dominate in this republic. Seen in the long term, it is difficult to be against the kind of domination that Zdravko Grebo advocates, for example. This is because it does not imply a halt to political pluralism that cannot exist without the institutionalization of different political stands and opinions. On the contrary.

Whether the Communists are weak or strong, democrats or dogmatists, their political opponents in Bosnia-Hercegovina will not be equal to them for a long time. This fact leads to the conclusion that in this "transitional period," it is nevertheless best to have Communists of democratic principles in power.

If the present relations between the most influential political personalities in Bosnia-Hercegovina remind us of those in the Soviet Union, then the same thing applies when it comes to political and other circumstances in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the USSR, regardless of all the differences that suggest a comparison is inappropriate. Hence, the uncertainty as regards the outcome of the "Bosnian perestroyka" with which Dr. Durakovic and the leadership are moving among the citizens of our central republic.

Krsko Nuclear Power Plant 'Safe'

LD0103201890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—Krsko, Yugoslavia's sole nuclear power plant, which is situated in the Republic of Slovenia, is safe, and there is no reason for its closure, the plant's director and representatives of competent republican institutions told newsmen today.

Journalists were also told that the operating of the plant was constantly being supervised by teams of experts and that all relevant international standards and safety measures were being observed.

Slovenian representatives maintain that a referendum about the fate of Krsko, which has been demanded by ecological ments, would only be appropriate if the public was presented both with the obvious economic advantages of such a source of electical energy and possible hazards to the environment.

A demand for closing down the plant was made several days ago by one of the "Green" parties in Slovenia, which asked the authorities of communies lying around the plant's site to stage referendums on its future.

The initiative by the Slovenian Greens has also received support from the Belgrade Ecological Movement, which has asked that the referendum be nation-wide.

The closure of Yugoslavia's only nuclear power plant has also been demanded by Greens living in areas in Italy and Austria near their borders with Yugoslavia.